

MEMOIRS

Of the LIFE of

Lord *L O V A T.*

Price 1s. 6d.

H. Fraser (G.) Baron Fraser
of Lovat.

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OF THE LIFE OF

T. A. V.



Lord

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Lord *L O V A T.*



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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LORD

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OF



OF

LONDON

MEMOIRS

Of the LIFE of

Lord *LOVAT*.

THE rebellion which has long rag-
ed in the North, and disturbed the
domestick peace and tranquillity of
these kingdoms, but now happily extinguish-
ed, being the subject of every conversation,
and the object of the hopes and fears of all,
as they are differently attached by party;
and the private and political characters of
the chiefs of the rebels being scarce known
in this great city, however curious people
may have been to be informed of them;
the author of the following sheets thought
that certain anecdotes, which he has collect-
ed of the life of Lord *Lovat*, from the
histories of the publick transactions, in which
his Lordship was employed or concerned,
from a personal acquaintance with his
Lordship for many years, and from the
author's own observation of his conduct and
behaviour in the peaceable period of his
life,

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life, would, at this juncture, be no unwelcome present to the publick.

Before I enter upon the life and remarkable actions of the Lord *Lovat*, it may not be disagreeable to the reader to give him a short account of the family, from whence his Lordship is descended.

It is the opinion of some persons versed in antiquity, that this family is of a *French* origin, which conjecture is somewhat confirmed from that part of their arms which consists of three strawberries, in the *French* tongue called *Fraises*, and from which they are surnamed *Frasers*: Others contend, that the *Frasers* are one of the original and ancient *Scots* families, and that whatever may seem to be borrowed from the *French* nation, is only the effect of the ancient alliances and leagues which long subsisted between the two kingdoms: But however that may be, it is agreed by all, that the *Frasers* were a powerful and flourishing people in the reign of *Malcolm* the 4th King of *Scotland*, about the year 1153: this family enjoyed large possessions in the shire of *Tweeddale* and elsewhere in the south parts of *Scotland*; it appears likewise,

that much about that time they were dignified with the office of high-sheriff of the shire of *Pebles*, by the description of *Vicecomes de Traquoqueir*.

About the year 1249, during the reign of *Alexander* the 3d, who intermarried with *Margaret* daughter of *Henry* the 3d, King of *England*, but died without issue, Sir *Simon Fraser* represented this family; he had two brothers, *William* and *Andrew*, *William*, after the death of *Alexander*, the 3d, was one of six great men that were appointed by parliament regents of the kingdom, until such time as the crown, then vacant by the death of *Alexander*, should be filled, and the government settled; in the commission of regency he is stiled *Guilielmus Fraserius Fani Andreae Archiepiscopus*: His brother *Andrew*, afterwards Sir *Andrew*, was made high-sheriff of *Sterling*, and by his gallant behaviour and great services to his country in perilous and calamitous times, rendered himself justly celebrated in history. This Sir *Simon Fraser*, and his son of the same name, are both mentioned in the *Fœdera Angliæ*, amongst the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who were concerned in the

settlement of the crown and government, after the death of *Margaret*, daughter to the King of *Norway*, and grandchild to *Alexander* the 3d; that Princess being heir to the crown was intended and agreed to be married to *Edward* the 2d, but her sudden death put an end to that treaty, which was the source of long and bloody wars between the two kingdoms, occasioned by *Edward* the first his intermeddling in the quarrel between *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who both claimed the right of succession to the crown of *Scotland*. Sir *Simon Fraser* the son was esteemed a noble and steady patriot, and every way worthy of so renowned a father; he distinguished himself particularly by his valour and conduct in the memorable battle fought upon *Rossline-Muir* near *Edinburgh* in *March* 1302, between the *English* and *Scots*, where Sir *Simon*, who together with one *Cumin* commanded the *Scots*, consisting of 8000 men, attacked three several bodies of the enemy, being 30000 in number, and gained a compleat victory. It is observable that the court of *England* at that time lookt upon the *Scots* as a parcel of undisciplined scoundrils, and banditti of

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robbers; the words of a famous historian are, *Edvardus* (meaning *Edward* the first) *Radulfum confrarium cum magnis copiis, ad prædones (ita enim eos vocabat) domandus et reliquias belli conficiendas misit*: The brave Sir *Simon* had afterwards, in the course of this war, the misfortune to be taken by treachery, and by order of *Edward* the first was brought up prisoner to *London*, where he was condemned and executed as a traytor, and that, as his countrymen observed, for no other crime, but bravely persisting in the defence of the liberties and independency of his country, when invaded by a foreign power. The superstitious part of mankind may look upon this as portentous to the present *Simon*, Lord *Lovat*, who pretends, but with what reason the readers are at liberty to judge, that he has lately acted from the same glorious motives, and from the like worthy and virtuous ends.

This unfortunate patriot left issue a son, Sir *Simon*, who had likewise fallen into the hands of the *English*, but in respect of his tender years, his life was spared; however, to extinguish the memory of his father and

family, he was sent to *France* and compelled to serve in the *English* army against the *French*: There he remained for some years, and being by his relations supposed dead, Sir *Hugh Hay* of *Twedale* and Sir *Patrick Fleming* of *Wigton*, who intermarried with his two sisters, did in right of their wives divide and possess the said Sir *Simon Fraser's* estate, and quarter the arms of the *Frasers* in their achievements: But Sir *Simon* at length hearing of the extraordinary success of King *Robert Bruce*, escaped from the *English* army, and came over to *Scotland*, where he immediately joined the loyal party, by whom he was well received. He then thought fit to claim his estate, which had been possessed by *Twedale* and *Wigton*; but they being unwilling to part with what they had for a long time possessed, and looked upon as their own; and King *Robert* judging that it would be extremely impolitick at that critical juncture to disoblige two great and powerful men, who had by their services merited much at his hands, proposed to Sir *Simon* to drop his claim, whereupon Sir *Simon*, that he might not be the occasion of bringing any distress upon the

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the government, which was then in an unsettled condition, did so far prefer the public utility to his own private interest, that he consented to relinquish his right to the estate, and suffer the same to continue in the possession of his brothers in law: But the King, to make him some satisfaction for this generous renunciation of his right, made him a gift of the lands and barony of *Kinnel*, and of a considerable estate in the shire of *Inverness*, which had been some time before vested in the crown by the forfeiture of *Sir John Bisset*; and as a further gratification he gave him in marriage his niece the Earl of *Ross*'s daughter by Lady *Matilda Bruce* his Majesty's sister, and added to the arms of the family the three crowns as a memorial of his alliance with the royal blood. *Sir Simon* was commonly called the Knight of *Kinnel*, and inherited his father's virtues, tho' not his estate; he was killed in the battle of *Hallydon Hill* near *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, fought in the year 1333 between the *English* and *Scots*, where the latter received a signal defeat. His son *Hugh* succeeded him, and King *David*, by way of recompence for his father's sufferings and death,

death, gave him the barony of *Lovat*, by the name and description of *Hugo Fraser Dominus de Lovat*; he married *Isabel*, daughter of *Weems of that Ilk*, by whom he had a son *Hugh*, who in the year 1416 married *Janet* sister of *William de Fenton*, by whom he got a great estate in the shire of *Inverness*: Of this marriage there was issue *Alexander Fraser of Lovat*, who in the year 1430 died without issue male of his body, and was succeeded by his brother *Hugh*; this *Hugh* was the first peer of this family, being promoted to the dignity of a Lord by King *James the 3d of Scotland*, who created him a *Baron and Barrent of his parliament*: His Lordship intermarried with a Lady of the ancient house of *Glamis*, by whom he had issue two sons, *Thomas* and *Alexander*.

Thomas Lord Lovat, upon his father's death in the year 1501, entered into possession of the honours and estate of *Lovat*, and married into the family of *Huntly*, and afterwards into the house of *Grey*; of the first marriage there were issue several sons, the eldest, named *Hugh*, succeeded upon his father's decease.

Hugh

Hugh Lord Lovat married *Ann* daughter of the Laird of *Grant*, and upon her decease married *Ann Ross*, descended of the ancient Earls of *Ross*; of the second marriage there were issue *Alexander* and *William* of *Struy*; this Lord was slain with almost all his clan in a memorable battle fought the fifteenth of July 1544, in the reign of King *James* the 5th, between the *Frasers* and *Mc Donalds*: The action lasted near twelve hours, and was the most desperate one that ever happened in that country: The numbers on both sides were at the beginning pretty equal, but a body of reserve of the *Frasers*, which were at some distance, by the treachery of the person that had the command, did not come up to support their men, but fled with great precipitation: After the first discharge from their bows they engaged with their broad swords; there were but two *Frasers* that came off the field, both severely wounded, and seven *Mc Donalds*, most of whom were likewise wounded: Each party claimed the victory, the few that remained of each army having left the field being faint, weary and wounded: The *Mc Donalds* were the aggressors,

gressors, upon account of some old grudges between the two clans, and were at that time stirred up by the family of *Huntly* to destroy the *Frasers*. *Huntly* bore them a great hatred on account of their attachment to the family of *Argyle*, whom the *Frasers* were always ready to assist in case of disputes with any other family, which in those days were generally determined by the sword. This action is shortly related by *Buchanan*, he concludes the relation with the following remarkable words.

“ *Frazerii pauciores a pluribus victi atque*
 “ *ad unam cæsi, ita gens numerosissima et*
 “ *sæpe de re Scotiâ bene meritâ, tota inte-*
 “ *rierat, nisi divino (ut credi par est) con-*
 “ *filio ex familiæ principibus octoginta domi-*
 “ *reliquissent gravidas uxores, quæ suo quo-*
 “ *que tempore, mares pepererunt singulos, qui*
 “ *omnes incolumes ad virilem pervenerunt*
 “ *ætatem.*” In English thus. “ The
 “ *Frasers* were by a superior number o-
 “ vercome and killed to a man ; thus a
 “ very numerous clan , and who , on
 “ many occasions, deserved well of their
 “ country, had intirely perished, were it
 “ not that, by divine providence, as it is
 “ reason-

“ reasonable to believe, fourscore of the
 “ principal gentlemen of that family had
 “ left their wives at home pregnant, who
 “ at their respective times brought forth
 “ all male children, every one of whom
 “ arrived safe to man’s estate.” This fur-
 nishes us with an observation in respect of
 the present situation of that deluded clan,
 they seem to be now brought to a like ru-
 inous condition by the slaughter of them
 at the battle of *Culloden House*, where a
 glorious victory was obtained over the Re-
 bels by his Majesty’s forces under the com-
 mand of his Royal Highness the Duke of
Cumberland. This family, after having for
 many ages subsisted by a succession of illu-
 strious patriots, are now in danger of being
 totally extinguished and stript of all those
 marks of honour and royal favour with
 which they have from time to time been
 dignified on account of their services to their
 King and country : Their misfortune is
 occasioned solely by the influence and per-
 nicious example of one man, whom preju-
 dice and a fatal blindness lead them to re-
 gard as their sovereign and head. But to
 pursue the relation.

After

After a succession of several heirs from father to son, during which time this family intermarried with many noble families in *Scotland*, the honours and estate of *Lovat* became vested in the person of *Hugh Lord Lovat*, who married a daughter of the Earl of *Weems*, by whom he had issue two sons, *Hugh* master of *Lovat*, and *Thomas* called *Thomas Fraser of Beaufort*. *Hugh* married a daughter of the Earl of *Lesly's*, afterwards Earl of *Leven*, by whom he had a son named *Hugh*; the master of *Lovat* predeceased his father, and upon the death of *Hugh* the last Lord *Lovat* he was succeeded by his grandchild, who married a sister of the Earl of *Cromarty's*; by this Lady he had issue,

Hugh the last Lord of that name; his Lordship married a daughter of the Marquis of *Atbols*, but dying in the year 1696 without issue male of his body, his Lordship by settlement made in his life time, limited the honours and estate of *Lovat* to his eldest daughter and the heirs of her body.

Thomas Fraser of Beaufort above mentioned married a daughter of the Laird of *M Lead*,

M^c Leod, and had issue three sons and a daughter, *Alexander*, *Simon*, the present *Lord Lovat*, *John* and *Sibilla*: Upon the death of the last mentioned *Hugh Lord Lovat*, and of the said *Thomas* and *Alexander* his son without issue male, *Simon* the second son was the next heir in the male line, and as such claimed the honours and estate of *Lovat*, notwithstanding the above settlement, and insisted that by the course of feudal succession the same ought to descend to him. Having thus given the reader a brief account of this family, I shall begin with what was at first proposed.

Simon Lord Lovat, descended of the family of *Lovat* as above, was born at *Beaufort* near *Inverness* in the Highlands of *Scotland* in the year 1668, and his father having died when he was very young, he was sent to the Laird of *M^c Leod*, who had the care and direction of his education; after some years spent at the grammar school in reading the learned languages, he was sent to the King's college in the university of *Aberdeen*, where he applied himself to the study of the sciences, and

by the great progress he made in several branches of learning, discovered a surprizing genius ; after he had finished his studies at the university, and having but a distant prospect of a fortune, he turned his thoughts to the army, and about the year 1692, by the interest of the family of *Atbol*, procured a company in the Lord *Tullibardine's* regiment, where he served for some time ; but some misunderstanding arising between him and the Marquis of *Atbol*, he resigned his commission and quitted the service ; the occasion whereof was, that the captain claimed right to the honours and estate of *Lovat* as heir male, in preference to the eldest daughter of the last *Hugh Lord Lovat*, grandchild to the Marquis ; but in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to her, the Marquis proposed to captain *Frazer*, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof the Marquis engaged to promote him in the army ; but the captain with a noble indignation rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no earthly consideration, should ever induce him
to

to sell his birthright, by which he was entitled to the estate of *Lovat* and to be *Chief of the Frasers*: This refusal greatly incensed the family of *Athol*, and determined them to leave no stone unturned to ruin him and defeat his pretensions; but not intimidated thereat, he resolved the more firmly to assert his right, and foil the attempts of his enemies. His first essay was to endeavour to get the late Lord *Lovat's* daughter, who was then lookt upon as heiress of *Lovat*, to marry him, and by that means to unite both their pretensions and interests, and put an end to all disputes: In order to accomplish this great end, in the year 1694 he applied himself secretly to gain the favour of this young Lady, she was then about 15 years of age, and lived with her mother the Lady Dowager at *Castledouny* near *Inverness*; by means of one *Fraser* of *Tenecheil* he made his sentiments known to the heiress; the insinuations of our captain, and the persuasions of the confident, wrought so far upon her tender mind, that she soon began to entertain a great affection for her lover, and esteemed him the more as being her young

chief, that kind of esteem and inclination being very early and artfully implanted in the minds of young people of both sexes in those parts, to keep up the farce of superiority in the chiefs of the clans, the captain willing to improve this favourable disposition in the young Lady, pressed her to marry him privately, without the consent of any friend; and at once put an end to all his fears and uneasiness, which she with no great reluctance consented to; accordingly a time and place being appointed, the young Lady very early one morning, privately left her mother's house, attended only by this confident, and to avoid suspicion she set out without shoes or stockings, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, being in the middle of winter: When she had thus travelled some miles, *Tenecheil* repenting of what he had so rashly undertaken, and perhaps dreading the resentment of the young Lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, to the great disappointment of the lovers, instead of carrying the young Lady to her captain's arms, forced her to return back to her mother, and disclosed the whole

whole affair. The sorrow and despair of our captain, upon so sad a disaster, is more easily to be imagined than described; therefore I shall leave the same, together with the young Lady's grief and anguish of mind, to the imagination of all true lovers, and proceed to the relation of what followed.

The family of *Atbal* being alarmed with this attempt upon the heiress of *Lovat*, thought it no longer safe for her to remain in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent under a proper escorte to *Dunkeld*, the Marquis's seat, which was accordingly done; the Marquis from that time began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the hopes of our young adventurer, and prevent the honours and estate from ever coming to his possession; for that purpose he proposed a match between her and the master of *Salton*, eldest son of the Lord of that name, which is a distinct family of the *Frasers*; this proposal was cheerfully embraced on the part of Lord *Salton*, as being an alliance very honourable and advantageous for his family; accordingly every thing being settled and agreed upon, the intended bridegroom, at-

tended by this father Lord Salton, Lord Mungo Murray the Marquis's brother, with several other persons of distinction and a large retinue, set out from Lord Salton's seat near *Frasersburgh* for *Dunkeld*, in order to solemnize and perfect the marriage, and proposed in their way to pay a visit to the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*. But our captain being in the meantime informed of what was carrying on, determined to prevent a match that would be fatal to him, and for ever destroy all his hopes and expectations; with this view he assembled a few of his clan, and knowing Lord Salton's rout, he resolved to lie in ambush with his *Frasers* at the wood of *Bonchreive* within two miles of *Inverness*, and there wait for the enemy. When he understood that they had entered the wood, after the example of other famous generals, he harangued his trusty band to this effect; he acquainted them, " That
 " the important minute was come when he
 " must make a hazardous attempt to frustrate a match, which, if perfected, would
 " not only rob him of a young Lady whom
 " he loved beyond expression, but would
 " at once deprive him of all further means
 " of

“of possessing his just right : That his all
 “was then at stake, he was therefore de-
 “termined to compel his rival to desist
 “from his design, or to die in the attempt :
 “As for you, gentlemen, added he, who
 “have families and property of your own,
 “and may be unwilling to sacrifice them
 “on this occasion, I conjure you not to
 “expose yourselves to this imminent dan-
 “ger, where the fight will be so unequal.”

This had the desired effect, a general mur-
 mur ran through his faithful friends, they
 complained that by his speech he seemed to
 insinuate that they were not hearty in his
 cause, but they, on the contrary, declared
 they would support him to the last drop of
 their blood : Whereupon he made a proper
 disposition of his small army ; and charg-
 ing them to keep up their fire and observe
 his motions, he instantly rushed with
 sword and pistol, and galloping up to the
 enemy, seized Lord *Mungo Murray*, and
 after upbraiding him for his base and unjust
 designs against him, he charged him and
 his company to surrender themselves pri-
 soners at discretion, otherwise he swore he
 would shoot Lord *Mungo* dead upon the

spot: his Lordship terrified at so unexpected and so bold an attack, submitted to the captain with these words, *I hope, my dear Lord, that this will not be the end of our former friendship and acquaintance.* My Lord Salton was preparing to make a stout defence, notwithstanding he was attacked by one of the *Frasers* who advanced to him with a blunderbuss, which he was prevented from firing by one of his Lordship's attendants; but seeing what had happened, to prevent the effusion of blood, he surrendered himself likewise a prisoner, as did all the rest of his men: The captain thereupon ordered them to dismount and lay down their arms, and carried them in triumph to the Lady Dowager's house, where having arrived and disposed properly of his prisoners, he took possession of every thing as if he had been the owner and master. In order to improve this victory, the first thing he did was to erect a very high gibbet before the place, where some of the chief prisoners were confined; this spectacle greatly terrified them, and disposed them to grant the captain his own terms: A treaty was set on foot to settle the matters in an amicable manner, and the parties

parties in a short time came to an agreement, whereby Lord *Salton* and his son absolutely relinquished all pretensions to the Heiress of *Lovat*, and solemnly promised they would never attempt any future marriage with her, and that they would not in any sort interfere with the affairs of the family of *Lovat*. The captain upon his part declared that all the prisoners should be released and suffered to return in safety to their respective homes; and for performance of these articles bonds were to be mutually entered into: but as captain *Frazer* was apprehensive that deeds executed by any of the parties when under confinement, would not be esteemed as legal or valid, but were liable to be disputed, as obtained by duress of imprisonment; proposed that Lord *Salton* and his son should be discharged out of prison and be at liberty to go to *Inverness* in order to execute proper deeds according to their agreement; and that in the mean time the rest of their friends should remain as hostages for their so doing. The noble Lord and his son went to *Inverness* accordingly, and executed the deeds proposed, and thus the affair was finally settled, and the prisoners set at liberty.

Captain

Captain *Frazer* being so far successful, saw clearly nevertheless, that he could not come at the Heiress of *Lovat*, who was strictly guarded at *Dunkeld*, but as something must be done to secure and give a colour to the possession of the estate which he had now gained, the next expedient he thought of was, in respect he could not obtain the daughter, to bring about a marriage with the Lady Dowager her mother, who was then in his power; by this means he hoped to carry his grand point, for as this would secure to him the present possession of the estate, so if he should have issue of that marriage a son, such son would stand in the same degree of relation to the Marquis of *Atbol*, as the heiress did, and therefore it was to be presumed, he would not oppose the succession of that issue to the honours and estate of *Lovat*; by that means he flattered himself that the views of both parties would be reconciled. In prosecution of this scheme he applied to the Lady Dowager for her consent to marry him; but this she absolutely refused, alledging that her brother the Marquis would never agree to any thing of that sort, and that it would be attended

with

with fatal consequences, she conjured him not to use any violent methods against a defenceless woman, who was not able to oppose him; promising solemnly that she would endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between him and the family of *Athol*, and procure him the Heiress of *Lovat* for a wife. But the captain resolved to make use of the opportunity he then had to force her to a compliance. For that end he put all her servants out of the way, or secured them so that they might not be witnesses of what was to be acted; he then got a minister, who pretended to perform the marriage ceremony, but without the least mark of consent on the part of the Lady. This farce being over, the captain, with the assistance of some of his faithful myrmidons, set about undressing the Lady, but she resisting with all her force, and filling the house with cries and lamentations, one of the trusty band made use of a weapon called a *dark* to cut the lace of her stays, and after having dragged off her cloaths, they put her forcibly in bed; and our bridegroom performed the first feat of consummation in the presence of his desperadoes.

The

The rumour of this marriage, which happened in the year 1693, being spread abroad, and the Marquis having intelligence of it, applied immediately for justice, and having obtained a warrant to apprehend the captain, he procured a party of dragons to enforce the execution of it. Upon this the captain was obliged to remove from *Castledowny*, and taking his Lady along with him, he retired to an obscure place called the isle of *Agis*, where he lay concealed for some weeks. During this time, in order to give a proper sanction to what had been done before, and to remove the Lady's doubts about the legality of their marriage, the minister was again sent for, when the same was a second time solemnized. But the captain being sensible that he could not remain there long concealed, and knowing what search was making to apprehend him, judged it necessary to separate himself for some time from his Lady. The Lady, who had then conceived a great affection for him, as he pretends, was much afflicted at the thoughts of a separation, apprehending, that if she came once into the power of the Marquis, she would be compelled to disclaim the

marriage, and swear a rape against him; but the captain insisted that it would be impossible for her to escape, and that it would be more eligible for her to return to her own house, and endeavour to make up matters with her brother, and that he would in the mean time evade the prosecution against himself, and defend himself in the remote highlands, and by the assistance of some of his *Frasers* repel the attacks of his enemies.

From that time the captain, accompanied by some of his clan, lived a wandering life in the woods and on the mountains, and was subsisted sometimes by plunder, at other times by the voluntary contributions of some highlanders, to whom he sent in the night time for some provisions and necessaries of life.

The Lady Dowager was taken and carried to *Dunkeld*, when a prosecution for a rape was commenced against the captain in the high court of justiciary in *Scotland*; and according to the law and practice of that country he was, in absence, tried, convicted and condemned as being guilty of ravishing the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, and by

by this sentence the pretended marriage was in law deemed null and void.

One misfortune was soon followed by another, for there was a second prosecution set on foot against the captain for treasonably levying war, and with an armed force opposing the execution of the law; upon this account he was also, in absence, tried and condemned as a traitor: But notwithstanding the above sentences of condemnation, in virtue whereof he was intercommuned or outlawed, and letters of fire and sword issued against him, the captain continued in the country wandering up and down in the same manner as before, being supplied with the necessaries of life by some friendly and well disposed persons, who thereby rendered themselves obnoxious to the law, for aiding and corresponding with a person who was out of the protection thereof: But being at last reduced to great misery and extremities, and perceiving that nothing could be done in that way of life that could change the face of his affairs, he grew at last weary of it, and began to entertain thoughts of procuring a pardon for his past offences: With this view, in the year 1699, he

he made his court to one Mr. *Castairs*, a presbyterian minister, who had been very zealous and instrumental in bringing about the glorious revolution, and was a person of considerable interest at court: He recommended the captain to King *William* as a proper object for his royal clemency, and his Majesty was pleased to grant him a pardon for his levying war as aforesaid; but with respect to the rape, his Majesty would not consent to grant him any pardon, that being an offence committed against a particular person and family, which made it of a private as well as publick nature, and ought not therefore to be remitted without proper satisfaction, or the consent of the party injured; besides the family of *Athol* were inexorable, and his Majesty did not think it prudent to disgust a family of so much consequence at that time in *Scotland*. Our captain reapt no great advantage from this pardon, as the sentence upon account of the rape still hung over him; being sensible of this, and that his enemies were by far an over-match for him, he determined to retire privately to *France*, and there wait for better times.

It

It will be proper to acquaint the reader that much about the same time, the Marquis of *Atbol* being disappointed in his scheme of marrying the Heiress of *Lovat* with Lord *Salton's* son as above, proposed to match her with *Alexander M^c Kenzie*, son of the Lord *Prestonball*, then one of the judges in the court of session in *Scotland*; his Lordship and his son readily accepted of the proposal, and a marriage settlement was made and executed, by which Mr. *M^c Kenzie* was to take the title of *Fraferdale*, and the children of the marriage were to bear the name of *Frafer*: The estate of *Lovat* was settled upon *Fraferdale* during his life, with a substitution or remainder to the heirs of the marriage; accordingly a marriage was soon after had and solemnized, of which there was issue a son named *Hugh Frafer*, who in right of his mother claimed the honours and title of Lord *Lovat*, and several other children.

About the beginning of the year 1701 captain *Frafer* arrived in *France*, and repaired to the court of *St. Germain's*, where the late King *James* then resided; he got himself introduced as an unfortunate nobleman,

man, who had been long oppressed by the malice and power of his enemies in *Scotland*; but at the same time represented himself as having an influence and acquaintance in the highlands of *Scotland*, which might be serviceable to that court in their future designs: And being a man of good address, he in a short time insinuated himself into some degree of favour, but particularly recommended himself to the confidence and esteem of the D. of *Perth*, one of the prime ministers at that court. The captain's credit at *St. Germain's* was in a great measure owing to the good offices of the *Pope's* nuntio, then at the *French* court, to whom he got himself introduced and recommended as one that was desirous of becoming a convert to the church of *Rome*: he considered that as a necessary qualification to entitle him to favour and credit at the court of *St. Germain's*, and formally renounced the Protestant, and embraced the Roman Catholick religion. Soon after he was made known to the Marquis *De Torcy*, the great favourite of *Lewis* the XIV. Being a man of wit and gallantry he had likewise the good fortune of working himself into the

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favour.

favour of the ladies at the *French* court ; and I have often heard him boast of Madam *Maintenon*'s having rallied him on account of his intimacy with the court ladies, telling him, "*Les Dames, Monsieur, vous regardent comme un homme ravissant ;*" alluding to the rape he had committed in *Scotland*. Certain it is he now began to be lookt upon as a person of some consequence at the courts of *Versailles* and *St. Germain*s. He had at last the honour of kissing the *French* King's hand, and was admitted to a private audience upon the subject of an invasion of these kingdoms, which was then projecting in favour of the Pretender. Some days before, the captain was informed by the Marquis *de Torcy* of the honour that was designed him ; and being willing to acquit himself handsomly upon so great an occasion, he prepared an elegant and pompous harangue, and had been at great pains to make himself master of it : Accordingly the day appointed being come, the Captain was introduced by his friend the Marquis to the King's closet ; but the magnificence and splendor of the court, or the awe of the Grand Monarque, had such a power-

powerful effect upon him, that when he approached the King, he quite forgot his speech and appeared in great confusion; but in a few minutes recovering himself a little, he addressed the King with an *extempore* speech in an easy and unaffected manner, and very pertinent to the occasion. After the captain had withdrawn, the King observing the Marquis smile, asked him the reason of it; he told his Majesty of the captain's having forgot his studied speech: with which the King was highly diverted, and said his behaviour shewed him to be a man of ready wit and natural elocution.

The court of *St. Germains*, at the death of the unfortunate King *James*, which happened on the 6th of *November* 1701, like most other courts, was divided into two factions, one headed by the Duke of *Perth*, and the other by the Earl of *Middleton*: These two great men, though both in appearance aimed at the same end, to wit, the service of their Master, yet constantly exposed each other's measures, representing them as destructive to the common cause. This is one reason why that party, in point of politicks, were held in so great contempt

by men of sense, for their most secret views and designs were soon made publick, insomuch that the *Jacobites* were at last esteemed such arrant tatlers, that no person of common prudence would be prevailed upon to trust them : to this captain *Frazer* imputes, in a great measure, the miscarriage of an affair of which I intend to give some account. Notwithstanding the disputes and variety of opinions at *St. Germain's* about the proper measures for restoring the Pretender, something was at last resolved upon, and that was an invasion and insurrection in the highlands of *Scotland*. Our captain was pitched upon as a proper person to pave the way, and prepare matters for the execution of that design. For that end he was honoured with a Major-general's commission (others say that of a colonel of foot only) and furnished with powers and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in *Scotland*, who were attached to that interest, and particularly the Chiefs of the clans. He was likewise provided with some arms and ammunition, and with a sum of money from the court of *France*. Thus authorized and provided captain *Frazer* set out

out from *Paris*, attended by two gentlemen sent by the ministry at *St. Germain's* to be a check upon him, and witnesses of the faithful execution of the trust reposed in him. He embarked at *Dunkirk*, and arrived in *Scotland* about the latter end of the year 1702.

To set this matter in a true light, I shall beg leave to lay before the reader what the historians of those times have delivered upon this subject, particularly with respect to the part our captain acted therein. Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, in his *Memoirs*, who treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the Duke of *Queensbury* and his party, and charged upon the Marquis of *Athol* and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them, gives the following account of that matter.

“ The court party pitched upon *Simon*
 “ *Frazer* of *Beaufort* as the tool to carry
 “ on this wicked design, and be an evidence
 “ to charge such persons as they directed.
 “ This gentleman, some three or four years
 “ before, had been guilty of a most scandalous
 “ rape upon the person of the Lady
 “ Dowager of *Lovat*, sister to the Duke

“ of *Athol*; for which crime the Lords of
 “ Justiciary condemned him to die, and
 “ letters of fire and sword were raised, and
 “ a detachment of King *William*’s troops
 “ sent against him and his adherents, who
 “ were pretty numerous : Betwixt them
 “ several skirmishes happened; but finding
 “ the Duke of *Argyle*, who was his great
 “ patron, (for no reason that I know of,
 “ but because he had been guilty of a vile,
 “ lewd and detestable crime, and likewise
 “ upon the person of one of the family of
 “ *Athol*, which two houses bore each other
 “ a constant grudge :) I say, *Frazer* find-
 “ ing *Argyle* was no longer able to pro-
 “ tect him against the force of law and
 “ justice, quitted the kingdom, and retir-
 “ ed to *France* : but King *James* having
 “ got an account of the crimes he was
 “ found guilty of, for which he had left
 “ his native country, would not, during his
 “ life, allow him to come to the court of
 “ *St. Germain*s. This person being made
 “ choice of, as well qualified for such
 “ a design, was sent for from *France* to
 “ *England*, and afterwards brought from
 “ thence to *Scotland* : but before he left
 “ *France*,

“ *France*, by the advice of his friends at
 “ home, he turned Papist ; and finding a
 “ way to be introduced to the *French*
 “ King by the *Pope’s* nuntio, he represent-
 “ ed himself as a person of great interest
 “ in *Scotland*, and oppressed for his zeal
 “ to the Royal Family ; and that with en-
 “ couragement, and a small assistance, he
 “ could contribute to make a great diversion
 “ to the *English* arms, and much promote
 “ the Royal interest ; and, for that end,
 “ proposed that his Most Christian Majesty
 “ would furnish him with two or three
 “ hundred men and a good sum of mo-
 “ ney, to take along with him to *Scotland*,
 “ where he would perform wonders. But
 “ the *French* King, unwilling to hazard
 “ his men and money, without a further se-
 “ curity, and more probability than his asser-
 “ tion, gave him a fair answer, desiring him
 “ to go first to *Scotland*, and bring him some
 “ credentials from those persons over whom
 “ he pretended so much power : which
 “ he agreed to, and got for that purpose a
 “ little money, and, by the *French* interest,
 “ such credit at *St. Germain’s*, as to obtain
 “ a commission from King *James* (meaning
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“ the Pretender) to be a Major-general,
 “ with a power to raise and command forces
 “ in his behalf, which was the main thing
 “ he aimed at: But at the same time cap-
 “ tain *John Murray*, brother to Mr. *Mur-*
 “ *ray* of *Abercarnie*, and captain *James*
 “ *Murray*, brother to Sir *David Murray*
 “ of *Stenhope*, were likewise, under the
 “ protection of Queen *Anne*’s indemnity,
 “ sent over to *Scotland*, to be a check upon
 “ him, and bring intelligence how they
 “ found the tempers of the people, and
 “ their inclination towards King *James*.
 “ Thus provided *Frazer* arrived in Eng-
 “ land; and on the borders of *Scotland*
 “ was met by the Duke of *Argyle*, and
 “ by him conducted to *Edinburgh*, where
 “ he was kept private; and being fully in-
 “ structed what he was to do, the Duke of
 “ *Queensbury* gave him a pass, to secure
 “ him from being apprehended, in obe-
 “ dience to the letters of fire and sword
 “ emitted against him. And now he goes
 “ to the Highlands, introduces himself to
 “ the company of all that he knew well
 “ affected to King *James* and his interest
 “ there, produces his Major-general’s com-
 “ mission,

“ mission, as a testificate of the trust re-
 “ posed in him, and proposing their rising
 “ in arms, and signifying the same under
 “ their hands, that the King might know
 “ assuredly who they were, and what num-
 “ bers he had to trust to, and regulate his
 “ affairs accordingly. Some were so far se-
 “ duced, as to assure him they were ready
 “ to serve the King, though I believe there
 “ was none did it in the terms he proposed;
 “ but generally there were few that did not
 “ regret the King’s reposing any trust in a
 “ person of so bad a character; and fear-
 “ ing he would betray them, refused to
 “ treat or come to particulars with him.
 “ After he had trafficked here and there
 “ through the Highlands with small suc-
 “ cess, when the parliament was adjourned
 “ he went to *London*, to consider of what
 “ further use he might be to his constituents,
 “ resolving (though the *primum mobile* and
 “ his patron, the Duke of *Argyle*, was
 “ now dead) to continue in their service;
 “ and they, finding that he had made but a
 “ small progress, and could not as yet fix
 “ any thing at the doors of those persons
 “ against whom they levelled, resolved to

“ send him again to *France*, to demand
 “ letters and further encouragement to the
 “ Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*, and Earls
 “ of *Seafeld* and *Cromarty*, and the Cava-
 “ liers: and for that end the Duke of
 “ *Queensbury* procured him, and two others
 “ with him, a pass from the Earl of *Not-*
 “ *tingham*, secretary of *England*, under bor-
 “ rowed names. If he went upon a good
 “ design, as the Duke of *Queensbury* af-
 “ terwards alledged, why needed he have
 “ made their persons and business such a se-
 “ cret to the Queen’s secretary, as he must
 “ know neither? But before *Frazer* reach-
 “ ed *Paris*, and had executed his black de-
 “ sign, it came to light in great measure;
 “ for the famous Mr. *Ferguson* soon dis-
 “ covered, and consequently defeated the
 “ project, when it was yet but in embryo:
 “ For *Frazer*, whilst he was in *London*,
 “ having addressed himself to him and
 “ one Mr. *William Keith* (a great depender
 “ upon the Duke of *Athol*,) he acquaint-
 “ ed him with the pretended design and
 “ project for King *James*, and mightily
 “ pressed *Keith*, that he would use his en-
 “ deavours to persuade the Duke of *Athol*
 “ to

“ to forgive him, and allow him access to
 “ his Grace, since he was heartily sorry
 “ for the crime he had committed, and
 “ was promoting so good a design : But
 “ *Keith* (though he played the fool, and
 “ dipped deep enough with him in all other
 “ points) told him, that was what he could
 “ not presume to propose, and what he
 “ knew the Duke of *Athol* would never
 “ grant. But *Ferguson*, an old experi-
 “ enced plotter, understanding his character,
 “ suspected his integrity ; and it coming to
 “ his knowledge, that he was often pri-
 “ vately with the *Scots* courtiers, was by
 “ them supported, and had obtained a pass,
 “ as above related, soon concluded that
 “ there was some bad design in hand, and
 “ thereupon gave the Duke of *Athol* no-
 “ tice of it : And he again having enquir-
 “ ed at the Earl of *Nottingham*’s, and find-
 “ ing *Ferguson*’s informations to be good,
 “ and his suspicions to be well grounded,
 “ acquaints Queen *Anne* of the whole pro-
 “ cedure, accusing the Duke of *Queens-*
 “ *bury* in particular, and his other friends
 “ and partizans, of corresponding with
 “ and protecting a person outlawed in the
 “ king-

“ kingdom of *Scotland*, and guilty of the
 “ most horrid crimes, and a trafficker with
 “ *France*. Thereupon the Duke of *Queens-*
 “ *bury*, to vindicate himself, declared, that
 “ *Frazer*, when he came to *Scotland*,
 “ wrote to him, that he could make great
 “ discoveries for the Queen’s service ; that
 “ upon that account he had sent for him,
 “ given him a protection in *Scotland*, and
 “ again procured him a pass in *England*,
 “ with a design he should go to *France*
 “ and make a clearer discovery ; which he
 “ did not doubt he would have performed,
 “ had not the matter come too soon to
 “ light : and as a convincing proof there-
 “ of, he produces a letter from the Queen
 “ mother, directed to L. M. which he in-
 “ terpreted the Lord *Murray* (formerly the
 “ title of the Duke of *Athol*, before his
 “ father died.) But his Grace made use
 “ of such solid arguments and convincing
 “ proofs to shew the fallacy of that letter,
 “ that Queen *Anne* herself could not deny,
 “ but that she thought it not genuine.
 “ Now let an impartial judge consider, if
 “ it is probable that *Frazer*, with whom
 “ no honest man in *Scotland* would con-
 “ verse,

“ verſe, who was under ſentence of death,
 “ and not ſuch a fool as to imagine, that
 “ he had intereſt to do any thing of mo-
 “ ment for King *James’s* ſervice, could
 “ have had the impudence to addreſs the
 “ *French* King in ſuch terms as he did,
 “ and come over to *Scotland*, unleſs he had
 “ been put upon it and protected by ſuch as
 “ could ſupport him at home. If he pro-
 “ poſed to cheat the *French* King of a lit-
 “ tle money, why came he to *Scotland*
 “ with it, ſince he knew he could not fail,
 “ in time, to be diſcovered, and then could
 “ neither hope to be protected there, or dare
 “ to return to *France*? Theſe, I ſay, and
 “ many other ſhrewd preſumptions, make
 “ it clear what was the deſign of this pre-
 “ tended plot, and, if ſucceſſful, how diſ-
 “ mal the conſequences of it muſt have
 “ proved, viz. the deſtruction of thoſe
 “ who oppoſed the deſigns of the *Scots*
 “ courtiers and *English* miniftry againſt
 “ *Scotland*; how happy it was in being
 “ rendered abortive, before the deſigned
 “ conception had come to full maturity;
 “ and how odious the thoughts of ſuch
 “ a helliſh conſpiracy, and abettors there-
 “ of

“ of, ought to be in the eyes of all good
“ men.”

The same author gives an account, that one *David Bailey* accused the Duke of *Queensbury* of endeavouring to suborn him in that matter, to prove such things as he should object against the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*, and others. This accusation was laid before the *Scots* privy council, but not being supported by any proof, *Bailey* was pillory'd and sentenced to be banished. Upon this point *Mr. Lockhart* thinks that it was a lye and counterplot, framed by *Bailey* of *Ferviswood* against the Duke of *Queensbury*; though he declares that his Grace was really concerned in the plot with Captain *Frazer*. *Mr. Lockhart* says further, that the House of Lords in *England* took his Grace under their protection; and that a Committee of seven Lords proceeded to take the plot under consideration, and reported what they pleased, though never so gross and absurd.

Another *Scots* author of the same party gives a different turn to the affair: he represents the Duke of *Athol* and those in the opposition as true Patriots, who ought to be distin-

distinguished from *Jacobites*. He says, that he is firmly persuaded that a dangerous conspiracy had been and was then carrying on for subverting the government; but that he can never believe there is any truth in the plot as charged, in gross, by captain *Frazer* and others, upon the Country party; “that charge he thinks to have been a design of the courts of *France* and *St. Germain*, in order to blast the reputation of those who insist upon such conditions of government as might prevent the return of popery and arbitrary sway.”

These authors are to be read with great caution as to the point of the reality of the plot, for their account of it is inconsistent with other parts of their writings; particularly Mr. *Lockhart*'s own book is a plain proof of the contrary; for it appears by many passages in it, that this very party, charged with the plot, are rank *Jacobites*, of which he glories that he himself is one; and that they were very zealous and active to restore the Pretender, whom he calls King *James*. This behaviour of that party was only a subterfuge, made use of by them in order to cover their malignant designs, and
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screen themselves from the just resentment of that government which they were endeavouring to overturn.

But let us now see what captain *Frazer* did in discharge of the trust given him, and what were the consequences thereof. Upon his arrival in *Scotland* he communicated his orders and instructions to the Chiefs of the clans and others, and consulted with them about the intended insurrection: but in the course of his treaties and negotiations he met with great discouragements, occasioned by the suspicions the gentlemen in the country entertained of him; for his old enemies in the North prepossessed the minds of the people, as if he was a person not properly authorized to treat with them, or one of so infamous a character as not to be trusted in an affair of that importance. These and the like insinuations rendered our captain's endeavours ineffectual, and obliged him to desist from prosecuting a matter in which he met with so much opposition; who thereupon set out for *London*. But before we trouble the reader with what happened to the captain there, and afterwards in *France*, we shall shortly relate some particulars

particulars relating to this which passed in the Scots privy council and the house of Lords in England.

Great endeavours were used by the Duke of Athol to stifle this plot, for that purpose he prayed the Queen to summon a Scotch privy council, where he presented a long memorial, complaining that the Duke of Queensbury and his agents had carried on a secret correspondence with captain Fraser, and that it appeared from plain proofs, that besides the design of an invasion, *there was another most wicked contrivance to bring several of her Majesty's good subjects and servants in a plot, in order to ruin them and their families.* He charged the Duke of Queensbury with several facts, 1st, That he had met with captain Fraser in Scotland, and employed him in that affair, and gave him 200 guineas, notwithstanding that by the law of that country it was treason to converse with him. 2^{dly}, That he had given a pass and protection to a man who was a rebel, and whose business in Scotland it was to tempt her Majesty's subjects into a rebellion. 3^{dly}, That he had sent captain Fraser and three

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other

other persons secretly into *France*, though it appeared that *Frazer's* main design was to engage the *French* King to make an invasion.

This charge against the Duke of *Queensbury* was chiefly supported by the declaration of *Ferguson*, which the House of Peers found afterwards to be false and scandalous, and therefore ordered *Ferguson* to be sent to *Newgate*, and directed the Attorney-general to prosecute him.

Upon the examination of this affair before the House of Lords, it appeared, by the confession of Sir *John McLean*, that in *July* 1702 he introduced captain *Frazer* to the Queen at *St. Germain's*, who told her, that the Heads of the clans were ready to rise in arms to the number of 10,000; that this was communicated to the King of *France*, and his Majesty agreed to assist them by an invasion; but for diverse reasons captain *Frazer* was sent first into *Scotland*, with orders to return, after the parliament was up, with an exact account of the inclinations of the people, and what numbers might be depended on to join the *French*.

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The Duke of *Queensbury* declared, that captain *Frazer* was brought to him by the Duke of *Argyle*; that thereupon he gave him a pass; that upon his return from the Highlands he disclosed to him the same in substance with what Sir *John McLean* had declared, and had acquainted the Queen thereof, but had not discovered the captain's name, being under a solemn promise to conceal it; that *Frazer* was gone to *France*, and had promised to send him an account of all the *French* designs, and would come back when any thing of moment happened, or when his Grace should require him.

But to return to our relation. We have already observed, that the captain's enterprises in the Highlands were attended with very bad success; and therefore finding his affairs in this situation, he went privately to the Duke of *Queensbury*, imploring his Grace's protection, intreated that he would be pleased to procure him a pass to *France*; and the more readily to obtain this, he discovered the plot that was then in agitation: But the captain insists upon it, that he did not disclose any particulars, more than

what was before then, by the folly and malice of some of the *Jacobites*, made publick. He likewise pretends, that he never had any intention, whatever he might promise at that time, to return to *France*, with a design, as he is charged with, to make a more full discovery of the measures and affairs of the Pretender ; but says, the Duke of *Queensbury* and he entered into an agreement, that in case the intended revolution should take effect, then the captain was to use his good offices in favour of the Duke and his family ; but if, on the contrary, the schemes of the *Jacobites* should be frustrated, then his Grace engaged to befriend the captain and promote his interest : And that the chief view of that meeting was to concert matters for their mutual safety and preservation. However that may be, the captain got a pass, and returned to *France*. Upon his arrival at the court of *St. Germains* he made a report of his negotiations in *Scotland*, and of the causes of the miscarriage thereof ; charging, that the malice and unreasonable opposition he met with from his enemies there, was what rendered his endeavours abortive : But his

private correspondence with the Duke of *Queensbury* and some others of that party, being known at *St. Germain's*, made him violently suspected of having betrayed his trust: And though the captain alledged, in his own defence, that the main design of that correspondence was to procure a pass, that he might thereby be enabled to avoid the persecution of his inveterate enemies, and render him the more capable of serving the interest of that court, yet he met with so little credit in that matter, that a complaint was made at the *French* court of his misconduct and foul miscarriage, in betraying the trust reposed in him. In consequence of this complaint he was, by virtue of an arrest, apprehended and committed prisoner to the *Bastile*, where he remained for several years. Upon the whole; notwithstanding the obscurity and variety of opinions as to the plot, it appears very plain, that captain *Frazer* was originally employed in it by the courts of *Ver-sailles* and *St. Germain's*; and that he discovered the same to the Duke of *Queensbury*, and promised to make a further discovery,

covery, for which purpose a pass from the Earl of *Nottingham* was procured him.

Captain *Frazer*, during his imprisonment, had no opportunity of doing any thing worth notice; therefore I shall pass over in silence that part of his life. But his mind, which was always restless, at last found out a new expedient to release himself from a doleful state of confinement, and procure him a comfortable subsistence. He had, upon his first coming to *St. Germain's*, embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and thereby recommended himself to the *Pope's* nuntio; but now he thought something further was to be done: He had leisure to reflect seriously upon his misfortunes, and the melancholy situation of his temporal affairs: This determined him to apply his thoughts to spiritual matters; he formed a resolution of entering into holy orders, and communicated his intentions to some of the clergy, and got them to inform his old friend the *Pope's* nuntio of his pious resolution. The captain had by this time acquired a perfect mastery in the *French* tongue; and his learning, and great capacity to promote the
interest

interest of the church were strongly represented and urged in his favour. By the interposition and friendly assistance of the Pope's nuntio and some other clergymen, he procured his releasement from the *Bastile* in the year 1708, and in a short time thereafter was admitted into the holy order and profession of a Jesuit. In that capacity he resided and had a living at *St. Omers* for several years, where he distinguished himself for his learning and piety, and discharged his holy office with universal applause, and to the admiration of his ignorant and deluded flock. During this period of time the captain was entirely dead to the active world, and buried from the knowledge of his friends and relations; but this did not hinder the zeal of some of his friends in *Scotland* from endeavouring to inform themselves of his fate: Major *Frazer* of *Castle Leathers*, an old friend and follower of the captain's, was, in the year 1714, sent by them into *France* upon that business. After a long search and much enquiry, he had intelligence that the captain, after his enlargement from prison, was retired to *St. Omers*, and there lived

very privately ; the Major went thither, and to his great surprize found him in this obscure and indolent way of life: he expostulated with him on his present inactive and inglorious condition, and endeavoured to inspire him with thoughts of returning to his native country, and attempting once more to recover his inheritance, and assert his right of superiority over the clan of the *Frasers*. These remonstrances tended greatly to rouse him from his lethargy ; but what chiefly determined him to follow his friend's advice, was a prospect of the troubles that then threatned these kingdoms by the death of her sacred Majesty Queen *Anne*, of which he proposed to take advantage. Another thing too that greatly contributed to incline our Jesuit to abandon his sacerdotal office, was an apprehension that some of his lascivious pranks at *St. Omers* would soon come to light, in regard that in his amorous intercourses he had not used that caution and secrecy that was necessary to prevent a discovery, which might be attended with fatal consequences to one of his character. The captain, in pursuance of that resolution,

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tion, pretending a necessity of going some way into the country upon important business, set out with his friend for *England*, where he arrived about the breaking out of the rebellion in the year 1715. But before we relate the captain's proceedings at that time, I shall beg leave to entertain the reader with some particulars in relation to him whilst at *St. Omers*, of which I was informed by a gentleman of credit, who travelled in that country several years after our captain had apostatised and quitted his religious profession.

This gentleman in his travels spent some days at *St. Omers*, and visiting the churches and curiosities, he was shewn the picture of *Frazer* the Jesuit, which the people had preserved with great reverence and devotion in memory of this pious and good man : For notwithstanding he had left them, they said they doubted not but he had been sent by order of his Holiness the *Pope* into *Great Britain* to carry on some secret and momentous design for the service and interest of the church. But my friend was at the pains to undeceive the poor ignorant people, and informed them fully of the true life
and

and character of their pretended Jesuit: The picture was thereupon, with just indignation and contempt, pulled down and destroyed, as they protested they would have served the original, if he had been then in their power. This discovery of his being an impostor made a great noise in the place, and brought to light several particulars which were before known only to few, and which it would not have been safe or prudent for any person to disclose, if our Jesuit had still continued in the same religious character and credit.

The Jesuit had been recommended to one Monsieur *M——n*, a gentleman of some rank within a few miles of *St. Omers*, as a father confessor; and by his grave and devout deportment gained his esteem and friendship. This he improved to his no small advantage; for he insinuated himself into the affection of Monsieur *M——n*'s lady, who was young and agreeable in her person, and obtained criminal favours of her: She likewise made him considerable presents, as marks of her love and esteem. Like other fine gentlemen of this age, he makes no scruple of boasting of this piece of gallantry,

lantry, in contempt of his sacred function and all the laws of honour and gratitude : And he often relates, with no small ostentation, an account of his debauching, about the same time, a beautiful young lady of a good family, to whom his religious character gave him frequent opportunities of access. According to his own account, he first practised on her maid : She fell an easy, willing conquest ; and by her means the young lady soon after became a sacrifice to the brutal lust of our Jesuit : he ravished her in presence of her maid. This vile creature, who had before assisted him by procuring a favourable opportunity, was an accomplice in the crime, by stifling the cries of her betrayed mistress. He had no sooner gratified his base desire, than the maid, conspiring with her lover, endeavoured to reconcile her to the Jesuit. She represented the crime as of a venial nature, for which the holy father could give her absolution ; and conjured her, for her own sake, to keep it concealed, to prevent the shame and reproach that would attend her, if the thing was known. She went further, and threatened, in case she made a discovery, to accuse

cuse her to her relations, with having, in a most indecent and lascivious manner, endeavoured to tempt the virtue of the good father. She no sooner perceived, that her base arguments began to work upon the tender mind of her young mistress, than, to reconcile her the more to the crime, she threw herself on the bed, and lewdly invited the Jesuit to her embraces. Our holy father was not wanting on his part, he caressed her accordingly; and in a little time after gave the young lady repeated marks of his fondness and affection for her. This infamous commerce continued for some months. The Jesuit was likewise under a necessity of sometimes visiting Madam M——n: and, as he has frequently boasted, he had, at that time, business enough upon his hands to employ the whole society of *Jesus*.

In *September 1715* he arrived in *London*, and went to some of his particular friends, and consulted with them how he should avail himself of the troubles that were then a beginning. The first thing necessary to be done was to procure a pass for him into *Scotland*, which by favour of the late Duke of
Argyle

Argyle and *Mr. Forbes of Culloden*, he soon obtained, under the borrowed name of captain *Brown*, as they had reason to believe he might be instrumental in quelling the rebellion. With this passport the Captain, attended only by his faithful friend the Major, who came with him from *France*, set out for *Edinburgh*. There he lay concealed for some time, waiting till a ship could be got to carry him to the North of *Scotland*; for the country was then all up in arms, and no possibility of travelling by land. In the mean time our captain's enemies had intelligence of his being in *Edinburgh*, and upon an information thereof to the Lord Justice Clerk, his Lordship granted a warrant to apprehend him, as a person condemned by law and intercommuned, or outlawed. A party of the town-guard were ordered to assist in the execution of the warrant, and agreeable to the information, they went to a house in the *Grass-market*, where the captain lodged, and made him their prisoner. Here his adventures must have ended, had it not been for a happy occurrence: The officer who commanded the party proved to be an old acquaintance of his; he expressed his concern
for

for the captain, and promised to serve him, if possible, upon that perilous occasion. Accordingly an expedient was agreed upon : the captain told him his intention of going into the North on the service of his Majesty King *George* ; that he went by the name of *Brown*, and had a passport from the secretary of state : He considered that the then Provost of *Edinburgh* was his good friend, to whom the officer went as his colonel, and acquainted him of the affair. The Provost thereupon directed him to discharge the warrant, and set the captain at liberty, as it appeared that the warrant was executed by mistake upon captain *Brown* instead of captain *Frazer*, who was the person specified. Upon this our captain was happily set at liberty, and escaped for this time the danger that threaten'd him. He changed his lodgings immediately ; and, a few days after, a vessel having been provided, sailed for *Inverness* ; but by contrary winds the ship was forced to put into *Frazerburgh*, within a few miles of his old friend Lord *Salton's* house. The captain and Mr. *Forbes* of *Cul-loden*, who attended him to the North to assist in his Majesty's service, must have been

ex-

exposed to great difficulties and dangers, if it had not been for the friendly care of one Mr. *Baillie*, town-clerk of *Frazerburgh*, to whom they made themselves known. He found means to provide them with horses, to carry them to *Colloden-House*, the seat of the Lord President of *Scotland*, (now become famous for the late glorious victory there obtained by his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* over the Rebels) where they safely arrived in *November 1715*, after a hazardous and fatiguing journey. The first thing to be resolved on by the captain was, what part he should take in the present troubles; but as his grand end and design, and which he always kept in view, was to recover the honours and estate of *Lovat*, his determination in that matter depended upon another point, and that was the behaviour of *Frazerdale*, who, as before mentioned, was then in possession of that estate. But when he was certainly informed, that *Frazerdale* had raised a body of men, and taken up arms for the Pretender, he no longer hesitated what side he should chuse, but repaired immediately to those of his clan who had remained faithful to him, and were

were by the vigilance and good conduct of some of his special friends gathered together and armed ready to act for the captain, whom they regarded as *their lawful and rightful chief*. They received him with great joy, and acknowledged him as their natural head, declaring that they were ready to assist him in all his designs, and *espouse whatever cause he should take in hand*. The captain improved this submissive and zealous disposition in his *Frasers*, he declared for the government, and joined the well affected in that part of the country. His appearing so seasonably was attended with very good effects, for he assisted in driving a considerable body of the rebels out of the town and castle of *Inverness*, and contributed greatly to keep the disaffected in awe, and to preserve the peace in that part of the country. But in order to do him ample justice upon this occasion, I shall give the reader the substance of his own account of the taking of *Inverness*, with other advantages obtained over the rebels in the North, wherein our hero (then generally owned as Lord *Lovat*, and whom we shall hereafter call by that name) was assisting; which was transmitted by him to his

his friends at *London*, to the end that his great services might appear, and thereby entitle him to the favour and protection of the government, of which, from the necessity of his circumstances, he stood in great need; the account is in effect as follows.

" In *September 1715*, the *Earl of Sea-*
 " *forth*, the Pretender's lieutenant general
 " and commander in chief in the North,
 " assembled his forces at his seat of *Brà-*
 " *han*, where *Sir Donald Mc Donald* of
 " *Slate* with 600 men had joined him,
 " together with the *Laird of Mc Kinnon*
 " with 150 men, and *Alexander Mc*
 " *Kenzie of Fraserdale* (who assumed a
 " command of the name of *Fraser* in
 " right of his Lady) with 400 *Frasers*,
 " whom he had forced together, and 100
 " *Chisholms*; these last, with the *Frasers*
 " under the command of *Fraserdale*, a-
 " mounting to 500, lay at *Castledowny*.
 " But the *Frasers of Struy, Foyet, Culdu-*
 " *thell* and others, kept the rest of that
 " name on foot for the government, hav-
 " ing assurance that *Lord Lovat*, their na-
 " tural chief, firm for the protestant suc-
 " cession, was daily expected from *London*;
 " this procured them not only the ridi-
 E cule,

" cule, but made them the object of
 " the resentment of the rebels. *Fra-*
 " *serdale* finding his number of men in-
 " considerable to what he expected, re-
 " solved, if possible, to bring these last men-
 " tioned gentlemen into his party, and so
 " wrote a letter to *Struy* and *Foyer*, de-
 " siring a meeting in order to convince
 " them of the justice and reasonableness
 " of the cause he had espoused: they
 " readily granted his request, being willing
 " to shew him that they were firmly de-
 " termined to support the protestant suc-
 " cession as by law established, and to op-
 " pose the attempts of the disaffected to
 " establish a Popish Pretender and a des-
 " potic government. With that view
 " they went to *Castledowny* with 150
 " men, where they were told that *Fra-*
 " *serdale* was gone to *Brahan*, but re-
 " ceived a message from *Seaforth* com-
 " manding them to repair to him and en-
 " list in the service of the Pretender; to
 " which they returned for answer, that
 " they were true protestants, and would
 " let his Lordship know so much upon
 " a proper occasion: While this treaty
 " was

10. " was carrying on, which was only in-
 - " tended to amuse them, *Seaforth* had
 - " in the mean time detached 600 men
 - " under the command of *Fraferdale* and
 - " others with orders to take the loyal
 " *Frasers* dead or alive ; but the *Frasers*
 " being apprized of their design, put them-
 " selves in a posture of defence, of which
 " the rebels being informed, and it proving
 " a very rainy tempestuous night, they
 " thought proper to return, being almost
 " starved with cold and hunger. Thus
 " a dishonourable and unfair attempt was
 " frustrated. Much about this time the Earl
 " of *Sutherland* had drawn together a bo-
 " dy of 1800 in the shire of *Ross*, intending
 " to prevent Lord *Seaforth* from join-
 " ing the main army of the rebels at
 " *Perth* : *Seaforth* understanding this, and
 " finding himself 4000 strong, marched
 " directly to give the Earl battle ; but
 " the Earl being so much inferior in
 " number, retreated to *Sutherland*, as well
 " to save his men as to draw *Seaforth*
 " further North and divert him for some
 " time from joining the rebels at *Perth* ;
 " but his Lordship contented himself

" with ravaging the country and went
 " strait to *Perth*, where he remained till
 " after the defeat of the rebels at *Dum-*
 " *blain*; but the 400 *Frasers* that *Fra-*
 " *Serdale* headed, hearing that Lord *Lovat*
 " was come home, deserted that cause,
 " and returned full of affection to *their*
 " *natural Chief*, and out of a just regard
 " to the protestant interest, for which the
 " *Frasers* had ever since the reformation
 " distinguished themselves; and the same
 " good disposition appeared plainly in its
 " effects till the rebellion was totally ex-
 " tinguished.

" Lord *Lovat*, on the 5th of Novem-
 " ber 1715, arrived at *Culloden* house
 " near *Inverness*, from whence his Lord-
 " ship wrote to the gentlemen of his name
 " that were well affected to the government
 " to come and receive him as their Chief:
 " Mr. *Ross* of *Kelravock*, and Mr. *Forbes*
 " of *Culloden*, to prevent his falling into
 " the hands of the rebels, conducted him
 " by *Inverness* to the frontiers of his own
 " country. His Lordship soon got his
 " clan together, and hearing that a body of
 " the M^r *Intoshes* were going to reinforce

Sir

“ Sir *John Mc Kenzie*, who commanded
 “ the garison at *Inverness*, he marched with
 “ some others of the well affected gentle-
 “ men into that country, in order to inter-
 “ cept them, and prevent their joining the
 “ rebel garison. The *Mc Intoshes* hearing of
 “ this, sent their principal gentlemen to
 “ treat with his Lordship : They agreed to
 “ disperse and deliver up their arms ,
 “ and the gentlemen became bound for
 “ the peace in their country. In the
 “ mean time his Lordship having in-
 “ telligence that *Keppoch* with a confide-
 “ rable body of men were in full march
 “ to *Inverness*, he posted himself between
 “ *Keppoch's* men and the garison. Sir
 “ *John* and *Keppoch* resolved to put his
 “ Lordship between two fires, and attack
 “ him on each side ; but *Keppoch* inti-
 “ midated at his Lordship's firmness and
 “ resolution, thought proper to retreat
 “ through the country of the *Grants* of
 “ *Urquhart*, where, after committing great
 “ outrages, he and his men dispersed and
 “ returned home. His Lordship there-
 “ upon marched strait to *Inverness*, and
 “ placed himself on the west side of the
 “ town,

“ town, after having sent a party to guard
 “ that side of the *Firth*, in order to prevent
 “ any supply of provisions or warlike stores
 “ from coming to the garison : *Forbes* of
 “ *Culloden* with his men lay at the East,
 “ and the *Grants*, being 800, to the South
 “ side of the town : Sir *John* finding him-
 “ self thus surrounded, and in danger of
 “ being starved or taken, and understanding
 “ that the *well-affected Clans* were ready
 “ to invest the place, took the advantage
 “ of a spring tide that came up to the
 “ town, and made the river navigable,
 “ quitted the town and castle, and retired
 “ in boats on the 10th of *November* to
 “ the *Ross* side ; Lord *Lovat* took im-
 “ mediate possession thereof, and acquaint-
 “ ed the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was
 “ then in *Sutherland*, of their success. The
 “ Earl wrote his Lordship a very obliging
 “ letter thereupon, expressing his satis-
 “ faction that his Lordship had by his
 “ loyalty and zeal, in defence of the
 “ government, entitled himself to his
 “ Majesty’s favour ; and assuring his Lord-
 “ ship that he would truly represent his
 “ services upon that occasion.

“ The

"The Earl of *Sutherland* came to *In-*
 "verness the 13th of *November*, when he
 "received the joyful news of the defeat of
 "the rebels at *Dumblain*, and leaving a suf-
 "ficient garison at *Inverness*, marched with
 "Lord *Lovat* to *Seaforth's* country, where
 "they obliged the gentlemen then at home
 "to give security for the peaceable beha-
 "viour of their people, and to return the
 "arms that had been taken from the *Mon-*
 "roes; they left a number of their men
 "in the castle of *Braban*, and marched to
 "*Murray* and *Strathspey*, where they sub-
 "jected the country to the King's obedi-
 "ence. The Earl of *Seaforth* in the mean
 "time gathered together the scattered re-
 "mains of his men, after the battle of *Dum-*
 "*blain*, and lay with them near *Braban*;
 "the Earl of *Sutherland*, with Lord *Lovat*
 "and others marched against him, resolv-
 "ing to give him battle; but the Earl of
 "*Seaforth*, upon their approach, proposed
 "terms of accommodation: Upon a pro-
 "mise of pardon, he agreed to disperse his
 "men, own the King's authority, and deliver
 "up his arms, and thereupon hostilities ceas-
 "ed: his Majesty thereupon gave the Earl of
 "

" *Seaforth* to understand, that upon his per-
 " forming his agreement, and behaving peace-
 " ably for the future, he might expect his
 " royal clemency. But upon the arrival of
 " the Pretender in *Scotland*, the Earl flatter-
 " ing himself that their affairs might take
 " a favourable turn, delayed to perform the
 " conditions he had submitted to, and there-
 " fore forfeited any title to his Majesty's
 " pardon. Soon after these transactions the
 " rebellion was totally extinguished by the
 " retreat and dispersion of the rebel army."

After the suppression of the rebellion,
 his Lordship's loyalty and great services
 were by his friends greatly magnified at
 court. And in consideration thereof they
 recommended him first of all to the King's
 favour for a pardon for all his former crimes
 and offences, which his Majesty was gra-
 ciously pleased to grant. *Frazerdale*, of
 whom I have so often made mention, being
 concerned in the rebellion, was attainted,
 and thereby forfeited his interest and estate
 for life in the lands and barony of *Lovat*,
 which became escheated to the crown :
 An application was thereupon made to the late

late King in behalf of his Lordship, setting forth his right and pretensions to the honours and estate of *Lovat*; in consequence whereof his Majesty, as a further mark of his favour and reward for his services, was graciously pleased to make him a gift of *Frazerdale's Life-rent Escheat*, in virtue of which his Lordship entered into immediate possession of the estate, and renewed his claim to the honours and dignity.

Being now got into possession of his hereditary estate and honours, he began to think seriously of establishing his right to both by due course of law. The adversaries he had chiefly to deal with were, *Hugh Frazer*, *Frazerdale's* eldest son, who, as heir-at-law of the last *Hugh Lord Lovat*, claimed the honours and title of *Lord Lovat*, and also claimed a right to the estate after his father's decease, by virtue of settlements, and other legal or colourable titles; and several creditors, who had charges and debts affecting the estate: These last were advised to bring their action in the court of session against his Lordship for satisfaction of their debts, and the court decreed in favour of the plaintiffs, as being just creditors upon the estate :

estate: But upon an appeal, the house of Lords reversed that decree, in regard the plaintiffs, if they prevailed in their demands, might entirely defeat the benefit that was intended by the gift of the crown: By this last judgment he was to enjoy the benefit of the estate during *Frazerdale's* life; clear of all incumbrances: Encouraged by this success, he brought his action in the same court of session against *Hugh Frazer* the pretended Lord *Lovat*, to establish his right of peerage, and in this suit he also prevailed. Having thus established his right to the title and honours of Lord *Lovat*, he was advised to bring his action against the said *Hugh Frazer*, in order to try his right to the fee or remainder of the estate after the decease of *Frazerdale*; but after a long and expensive litigation, which his adversaries were no longer able to carry on, an amicable agreement was at last entered into by the parties, and all disputes were finally determined by a submission and award, whereby, in consideration of a large sum of money paid by Lord *Lovat*, *Hugh Frazer* and all others interested, or pretending any right, were awarded to convey and make over to his

Lord-

Lordship all their right and title to the honours and estate of *Lovat*; and in pursuance thereof proper deeds were executed, and other legal securities taken for further assuring and confirming his Lordship's right and title; and thus about the year 1732, a conclusion was put to all their disputes that had for so long a time subsisted.

After his Lordship had been restored to favour and pardoned as above, he made his first publick appearance at *Edinburgh* in the year 1717. Lord *Mungo Murray*, of whom we have before made mention, had solemnly vowed, that whenever he should meet with Lord *Lovat*, he would revenge the indignity that had been done to his family, and the affront that had been given to himself personally in the North by that Lord; about this time the two noble Lords happened to meet in the high street, Lord *Mungo* drew his sword and made up to *Lovat*, who being very near sighted did not at first perceive his enemy a coming; but a gentleman who was by apprising him of his danger, his Lordship immediately drew in his own defence, and put himself in a posture to receive his adversary. Lord *Mungo* observ-
ing

ing this, thought proper to wheel about and retreat; but a crowd of people, alarmed at this hostile appearance, stood in his way and retarded his flight; whereupon Lord Lovat called aloud to the people, "*Pray gentlemen, make way for Lord Mungo Murray*". Lord Mungo escaped into an ale-house or wine cellar near by, and the affair ended without any bloody consequence.

About the same year 1717, his Lordship intermarried with a daughter of the Laird of Grant, sister to the present Sir *James Grant* bart. intending to add to his power and interest by an alliance with a potent and numerous clan. Of this marriage there are issue now living two sons and two daughters. Upon the decease of this Lady his Lordship married a young Lady nearly related to the noble family of *Argyle*, by whom he has issue a son named *Archibald*; but his cruel and unworthy usage of that Lady, which has occasioned a separation between them, instead of uniting himself more firmly to that great family, as he intended, has justly drawn upon him their resentment and contempt.

Simon,

Simon, commonly called master of *Lovat*, his Lordship's eldest son, in the 20th year of his age, is a youth of good natural parts, particularly remarkable for an honest and sincere mind, and a mild and benevolent disposition, good qualities which have by no means recommended him to the esteem of his father, who from his infancy has trained him up in a most slavish subjection and dependance upon him, and treated him with a most unbecoming severity. The friends of the family had great expectations of this promising and virtuous young man; but we find him engaged very early in the present rebellion, being seduced from that duty and allegiance which he owes to his King and country by the wicked counsels of a parent, enforced by his absolute authority and pernicious example. It has proved very unhappy for this youth and his brother, that they received the greatest part of their education under such a father, by which means they were very early tainted with destructive and abominable principles, of which the conduct of the master of *Lovat* at this juncture is a melancholy effect. About the

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year 1737, Lord *Lovat* became greatly suspected of some treasonable designs, and an information was given to one of the secretaries of state, that his Lordship under pretence of providing arms for his independent company, had bought up a considerable number of fire arms, broad swords and targets. This was represented to a certain great man at court, who thereupon wrote to Lord *Lovat* upon that head, desiring from him an account of the truth of these matters, and that he would satisfy the government with respect to the charge. And the more effectually to quiet the apprehension that some people had entertained of his conduct, and as it was generally reported that his Lordship purposed to send his sons to *France* for their education, he advised his Lordship to send them up to *London*; and to encourage him thereto, this great man offered to have a particular regard in their education, and undertook to be at the expence thereof out of his own pocket; such was this nobleman's generous care and concern to preserve this family from destruction; but our Lord was deaf to his councils and friendly admonition, and contented him-

himself with sending him long letters in his own vindication, stuffed with shuffling evasions and flattering speeches, and boasting of the great services he had done in the year 1715, which he argued ought to free him from any imputation of disloyalty.

Janet, his Lordship's eldest daughter, in the year 1740 intermarried with the Laird of *Cluny*, chief of the clan of *Mc Pher-sons*. He might have matched his daughter into a more honourable and opulent family, yet he considered that gentleman as the chief of a numerous clan, living in his neighbourhood, upon whom he might depend for support and assistance upon all future occasions, being a bold and intrepid people. And we may naturally imagine it was his Lordship's advice and influence that induced Mr. *Mc Pher-son*, who had then the command of a company in Lord *Loudon's* regiment, to raise his clan and join the rebels.

Here it may not be improper to observe what were his Lordship's sentiments with respect to clans or clanships, and what in particular his conduct with respect to his own clan has been: His opinion, which he en-

deavoured to inforce on all occasions, was, that the *Chief* ought always to be esteemed by the *clan* as their immediate Lord and Governor, to whom they owe an absolute subjection and obedience, from which nothing can absolve them; that they ought to be ready upon all occasions to assist him in support of his interest and concerns, and to redress wrongs and resent injuries done to his person and family. His Lordship, while his affairs were somewhat in an unsettled situation, and before he had ascertained his right to the estate and honours, endeavoured by artful and subtle insinuations to preserve the slavish dependency of the *Frasers*, who are generally speaking either his vassals, tenants, or servants; for that end he was at great pains to inspire them with a contempt of all trades and employments, for by these he saw they would procure a comfortable living independent of him; and that either by leaving that part of the country, by going abroad, or by entering into some society or corporation, they would entirely shake off that subjection, which had no foundation excepting merely in the imagination. This darling passion of *clanship* and lust

of

of superiority led him therefore to discourage trade, industry and improvements of all sorts, and instead thereof to recommend to their imitation the manner of life of their ancestors, who by a generous contempt of servile labour and mechanical employments, which, according to him, tended greatly to enervate the body and debase the mind, kept up and cherished that prowess and martial spirit, for which they had in former ages rendered themselves famous: It happened very opportunely for his Lordship that, amongst the many favours he received from the government, in the year 1724, he was honoured with the command of a highland independent company; by this means he kept his *Frasers* in some measure from the *destructive way of trades or business*, encouraged their warlike but indolent dispositions, and preserved his sovereignty: But after his Lordship had fully established his right to the honours and estate of *Lovat*, and put an end to the pretensions of his adversaries, he began to use more compulsive methods to maintain his superiority, and that was by distressing and impoverishing such of his clan as were his vassals, tenants,

or servants, or had any business or concern with him: then it was that his Lordship thought of putting in practice the maxims of government that he had learnt and adopted from *France* and *Rome*: The farmers and tenants he reduced to a low and wretched state, by encreasing and racking their rents, and by new and severe exactions: But with respect to the gentlemen who by *tenure* were *his vassals*, he followed another course, and that was to harass and oppress them by law-suits: For this end many frivolous and vexatious actions were brought by his Lordship as Lord or Superior, compelling them to exhibit and prove their rights and titles, insisting upon forfeitures and escheats, and for various other litigious purposes. The gentlemen were all justly alarmed at this, and greatly apprehensive of his oppressive schemes, they resolved to unite and associate themselves for their common safety and preservation, and about the year 1738, a meeting was had, where they solemnly agreed to stand by each other; a sum of money was agreed to be raised, of which every one was to contribute a proportional share to be laid out in defending what ac-

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tions

tions should be brought against them, and they were to use all lawful means for their common defence against his Lordship's oppressions and tyranny: And when their money and fortunes should be spent, and no further means left them of vindicating their cause, then they unanimously agreed to draw their swords and by force endeavour to do themselves justice, and relieve themselves from such unjust proceedings. His Lordship, upon hearing of this confederacy against him, was not a little disheartened, and thought it adviseable by degrees to drop the prosecution of his suits, and for the present directed that they should be discontinued: And it is not unlikely but he was induced thereto by reason of some other designs, which he had then formed, in which these gentlemen might be necessary to his ends, and upon that account he at last endeavoured to gain and secure them by gentle and softer methods, which he soon after effected.

As to his servants, his Lordship's conduct was still more extraordinary; for tho' he had given the world many proofs of an arbitrary and unjust disposition, yet it ap-

peared in no instance more cruel and odious than in the treatment of his *receivers*, *agents* and *menial servants*: With respect to those of a superior rank, such as receivers or stewards, his Lordship never could be brought to settle and adjust their accounts; but when any disputes arose, or if they were so imprudent as to claim their wages or salary, then he accused them of having defrauded him in their payments and disbursements, and threatened, unless they complied with his terms, however dishonest, that he would sue them at law, and that they should rot in a jail; these menaces from a person so powerful, terrified them into his measures, and they reckoned it a happiness to get out of his clutches by any means. When he intended to put away any of his inferior servants, or if they proposed to quit his service, and presumed to ask their wages, he was sure to charge them with theft, robbery, or some other heinous crime, and persons were always ready to prove the charge: he would thereupon by his own authority commit them to a prison about a mile distant from his house called the *Pit of Beaully*,

Beaully, which is a dungeon under ground without light or air, there he would confine them for many months, without ever troubling himself to bring them to a trial; and the poor wretches must have many times perished by the dampness of that doleful prison, or been destroyed by toads or serpents and other vermin, if the keeper, more humane than his Lord, did not frequently take them out in the night and lodge them in his own house; but he took care to re-convey them early the next morning to the dungeon, to prevent a discovery, which must have proved fatal to him. Upon the prisoners making a proper submission for their pretended crimes, and complying with his Lordship's terms, he would order them to be set at liberty: at other times he would give private orders that they should be permitted to escape by connivance of the goaler. The maid servants were treated in the same manner, unless they complied with his libidinous desires; and he has frequently sent them out to the *Pit* for no other reason, but because they refused to prostitute themselves and gratify his lust. This may seem incredible in a free country,

where the laws have their due execution; but to one that considers the poverty and subjection of these people, to an arbitrary and lawless master and chief, it may not be thought so strange, there are many persons now living, who have been treated in the manner I have related.

The Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, whom I had occasion to mention in the former part of this relation, was possessed of a jointure upon the estate, and had appointed one Mr. *Robertson* to be her receiver, and gave him a farm and house upon her jointure lands, about two miles from *Castledowny*: There happened some misunderstanding between his Lordship and Mr. *Robertson*, occasioned chiefly by the old grudges and animosities that subsisted between the family of *Arbol* and his Lordship; in the year 1719, Mr. *Robertson's* corn, barns, and other outhouses, which lay at some distance from his house, were in the dead of night entirely burnt and consumed, to the great loss and terror of the owner and his family: It was publicly known that this was not an accidental fire, for a number of persons armed and disguised were observed by some of the neighbours that night, to go to and come from

from the place where the fire happened, nor was it doubted but they were the actors of that barbarous scene. The reader may guess upon whom the suspicion fell as being the author, but suspicions and conjectures were soon after confirmed by plain proofs, that his Lordship's agents and servants were the guilty persons. By the law of that country, *willful fire raising*, is regarded as a crime of a very deep dye, and is punishable as treason; Mr. *Robertson* did at first intend to prosecute the villains, but considering his situation, and the power of his principal adversary, he was advised to drop that design and submit to the loss.

Mr. *Frazer* of *Phopachy*, a man of learning and good understanding, had been a steadfast friend to his Lordship during the whole period of his misfortunes, and particularly in the year 1715, he greatly contributed to keep his clan faithful to him, and prevent their joining *Frazerdale* in the rebellion: Whilst his Lordship was engaged in the affairs of the publick, and in settling his private business, and managing and carrying on his suits at *Edinburgh* and *London*, this gentleman acted as his steward and receiver, and had the chief direction of

his affairs at home: but on some slight occasion, his Lordship thought fit to quarrel with him, and some disputes arising in settling the accounts between them, his Lordship threatened him with a suit; but Mr. *Frazer* being willing to come to a fair account, upon which he insisted there would be a considerable balance due to him, proposed to submit all matters in difference to the arbitration of any two indifferent gentlemen in the country; to this his Lordship agreed, and two gentlemen were named for that purpose, viz. Mr. *Cuthbert* of *Castlehill*, on the part of his Lordship, and Mr. *Chevis* of *Muirton* on the part of Mr. *Frazer*: The arbitrators, after several meetings and a long examination, made their award or decree, by which Lord *Lovat* was found indebted to Mr. *Frazer* in a considerable sum of money, which he was awarded to pay. His Lordship was greatly offended at this determination, however sensible he might have been of the justice of it, and charged the arbitrators with injustice and partiality, and that *Castlehill* had betrayed his cause: In a few days after this arbitration was published, *Castlehill's* inclosures and parks, situated about two miles from *Inver-*

nefs, were in the night time broke down
 and entered by a party of armed and dis-
 guised Highlanders, where all his milch
 cows and other cattle, amounting to one
 hundred and upwards, were barbarously
 slaughtered, hamstringed or killed. This
 action was the more wicked and cruel, as
 this gentleman had some short time before
 inclosed a great part of his estate, and
 bought a parcel of milch cows, of a larger
 and better breed than those usually in that
 country, and the profits arising therefrom
 were very considerable. The base design
 was so well contrived, and so cautiously ex-
 ecuted, that for some time it was not cer-
 tainly known who were the authors of it;
 but an opinion generally prevailed, that
 Lord *Levat* was at the bottom of it. Be-
 ing thus highly dissatisfied with the award,
 he thought proper to commence a suit a-
 gainst Mr. *Frazer*, in order to have it set
 aside by the court of session: this occasion-
 ed a long and vexatious litigation, by which
 Mr. *Frazer*, through the oppression, power,
 and superior wealth of his adversary, suffered
 greatly in his affairs; the suit was not finally
 ended till long after *Phopachy's* death, but
 was at last determined, greatly in favour of
 his

his son the present representative of that family. An affair happened soon after the commencement of the last mentioned suit of a very extraordinary nature, which was as follows. Mr. *Frazer's* house at *Phopachy*, about three or four miles distant from my Lord's seat at *Castledouny*, was one night surrounded by a great number of Highlanders armed and disguised, who having broke open the gates, three of the villains entered the house, forcibly burst open all the doors, and searched every room for Mr. *Frazer*, who, fortunately for him, happened not to be at home that night. Enraged at this disappointment, they used the gentleman's daughters with great cruelty; for to prevent any alarm, by which the servants in the outhouses might be raised, they bound the young Ladies to the bed posts and gagg'd them: But the servant maid, whom they endeavoured to treat in the same manner, being a strong and resolute wench, opposed them with all her might, for which they beat her with great barbarity, and stabbed her with a *durk* in the thigh: she found means to wrench the weapon out of the hand that wounded

wounded her, and defended herself, until by her cries the other servants and some neighbours were alarmed; the villains that surrounded the house in great hurry and confusion made off, thinking that the horrid deed of murdering Mr. *Frazer*, which was their intention, had been accomplished, but left two of their confederates in the house, whom the servants and neighbours, armed with pitchforks, and staves, after a desperate rencounter, took prisoners and carried to *Inverness* goal: The ruffians were tried at *Inverness* the next circuit for *housebreaking*, *Hamesuken*, (i. e. a crime punishable in that country by death, and is a forcible and violent entry into a man's house, with an intention to assault, beat, or murder the master or others in the family,) whereof they were convicted and condemned to die: They were obstinate upon their trial, and refused to discover their accomplices, or the person who employed them in that barbarous attempt against a gentleman to whom they were absolute strangers, and who had never offended them; such was their blind zeal and attachment to their Chief: it is reported, that in this they had
great

great countenance from his Lordship's agents, who encouraged and flattered them with the hopes of a pardon: A reprieve was actually procured for six weeks, and fresh assurances of a pardon were made them, and continued till the very day of their execution, when the poor wretches received the just punishment of their crimes. It became publicly known soon after, that a clergyman of that town had, under a promise of secrecy, drawn a confession from one of the criminals, by which he acknowledged, that he and his accomplices had been employed by an agent of his Lordship's to murder *Phopachy*, and that he and some others had been likewise employed by the same agent to hamstring and kill *Castlehill's* cattle, and burn and destroy *Robertson's* barns. This confession was taken down in writing from the criminal's mouth, but the clergyman who took it did not think it safe for him to make any further use of it, than to disclose the horrid scene of iniquity to a few friends; by which means and the former suspicions, his Lordship in the opinion of most men was fixt with the guilt, but none durst charge him with

with the crime from a dread of his lawless power and revenge.

The late Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, and his brother the Lord President of the court of session, who now represents that honourable and loyal family, had, during Lord *Lovat's* hardships and calamities, been steadfast friends to him: In the year 1715, Mr. *Forbes* contributed greatly by his interest at *London* to procure him a pass, and they both afterwards assisted by their good offices to restore him to the favour of the government: Mr. *Forbes*, when *Inverness* was in the possession of the rebels, with a party of his men, at the hazard of his life, conducted his Lordship through that town, there being no other way for him to pass; by this means he was enabled to join his clan, and perform those services that were the foundation of his future good fortune. The Lord President was his principal council, or advocate, for many years, and as he discharged that office with great ability and success, so he acted for Lord *Lovat* with a disinterestedness, very rarely to be found among the gentlemen of the long robe; he was standing council for him in almost all his

his causes, which were very numerous, without *fee or reward*: Mr. *Forbes* represented the shire of *Inverness* in parliament for many years, and was supported by Lord *Lovat's* interest in that county, which was very considerable; but after his Lordship had settled his affairs, as above mentioned, he thought it no longer necessary to befriend that family to which he had been so much obliged; he gave his interest to another gentleman in opposition to Mr. *Forbes*, by which means the gentleman met with a great disappointment in his designs, and Sir *James Grant*, the other candidate, was elected and returned for the county; this so affected Mr. *Forbes*, that it is believed it was in some measure the cause of his death, which happened in a short time thereafter. His Lordship pretends, in his own vindication, that Sir *James Grant*, whom he appeared for, was nearly allied to him, and whose interest he was therefore bound to promote: But no consideration of alliance ought to prevail upon a man to act ungratefully and treacherously; for his Lordship had received repeated favours from that family, and was under the strongest obligation

tion by promises and assurances to assist them even in that very affair: Our Lord, never constant to any party or any cause, longer than it served his own selfish and sinister ends, opposed Sir *James Grant* at the next grand election, and espoused the interest of Mr. *McLeod*, who had been a steady friend to *Frazerdale's* family, and for many years assisted and supported them during the pendency of their suits, and to the last dissuaded them from coming to any accommodation or agreement with his Lordship: in this, as well as many other instances, his actions seemed inconsistent with his former conduct and sentiments, and not easily to be accounted for; but upon the whole we may affirm, that his Lordship's motives were often absurd and chimerical, but always mean or selfish, unjust or dishonourable. This was a proof, amongst many others that might be given, of his Lordship's regard to an old maxim which he had adopted, *never to regard his friends longer than they continued to be necessary to his ends*; at the same time he endeavoured by all possible means, even by the meanest submissions and lowest contrivances, to ingratiate

ate himself with his inveterate and professed enemies: And though it may be lookt on as a good Christian disposition, to desire to be reconciled to one's enemies; yet it is to be observed, that this was the last method that his Lordship made use of to get the better of their enmity; for he first tried to take them off either by secret fraud or violence, and if that failed, then he practised this other method of doing it by fawning, flattering, and low contrivances.

But though he oppressed his clan, and neglected or despised his friends, yet he cherished and protected the tools and instruments of iniquity employed by him, particularly one *Donald Gruomach*; this creature of his was for many years a notorious thief and robber, and constantly devoted to the service of his Lord in any kind of villany. But at last, in the year 1742, was overtaken by justice, he was apprehended and committed to *Dingual* goal in the shire of *Ross*, for a robbery, of which he was convicted and condemned. My Lord was determined to save so resolute and useful a tool, and for that purpose, sent a party of armed men with orders to break the prison in the night time

time and rescue the criminal; but happily that design was frustrated by the vigilance and care of the magistrates of the town, who got intelligence of it, and placed proper guards to prevent any future attempt of that sort, and the villain was hanged.

It may not be unacceptable to the reader to give one particular instance of the blind or mad zeal of this clan, and their strange attachment to their chief. In the year 1744, there was a meeting appointed of the freeholders of the shire, together with the commissioners of the land tax, at the court house in *Inverness*, in order to choose a collector of the cefs or land tax: There were present among others Lord *Lovat*, the Lord President, Lord *Fortrose*, and the Laird of *M^cLeod*: And some disputes arising between Lord *Lovat* and Lord *Fortrose*, the former in great passion gave the latter the lie; upon which Lord *Fortrose* with his fist struck Lord *Lovat* a blow upon the face; Lord *Lovat*, notwithstanding his great age, immediately returned the blow with several strokes of his cane; but Lord President and *M^cLeod* interposed and separated the combatants: One *Frazer* of
G *Foyer*,

Foyer, now in the rebellion, being in the gallery, and perceiving the indignity that was done to his chief, could not contain himself, nor take time to come down by the stairs, but instantly jumped down into the court, and cocking his pistol, presented it to Lord *Fortrose's* face; upon which Lord President threw himself between them, yet *Foyer* in his fury would have shot Lord President, or Lord *Fortrose*, or both, if a gentleman who stood near had not very seasonably thrown his plaid upon the pistol and prevented the firing of it: Many swords and daggers were thereupon drawn on both sides, and the court was in the utmost consternation and disorder: Lord President and *M^cLeod* took hold of Lord *Fortrose*, and to prevent bloodshed, the court being adjourned, they prevailed upon that Lord to go with them out of the court house: After they had got into the street, another of Lord *Lovat's* clan hearing what had passed in court, rushed upon Lord *Fortrose*, and with a large stick knocked him down in the publick market place, as he was walking between Lord President and *M^cLeod*: This affair being likely to prove

prove of dangerous consequences between the *Frasers* and *Mc Kenzies*, two numerous and neighbouring clans, the Lord President and other friends reconciled the difference to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.

In the year 1736, Lord *Lovat* erected a stately monument in the churchyard of *Kirkhill*, within a few miles of his seat of *Castledowny*, with a vain and pompous inscription, setting forth his own virtuous actions and great exploits, and particularly what memorable feats he had done for the honour and interest of his family and clan: The brave Sir *Robert Munro*, who was killed at the battle of *Falkirk*, being on a visit to Lord *Lovat*, they went together to view the monument. Sir *Robert* upon reading the inscription, in a free and jocular manner said, *Simon, how the D——! come you to have the assurance to put up such a boasting and romantic inscription?* To which his Lordship answered, *The monument and inscription are chiefly calculated for the Frasers, who must believe whatever I their Chief require of them, and their posterity will think it as true as the gospel.*

From the favourable turn which his Lordship's affairs have taken since the year

1715, it appears what obligations he had to the government: But this was not all, for his late Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint him Lord Lieutenant of the county and governor of *Inverness*, and bestowed a pension and other marks of favour upon him, in particular the command of a highland independent company, which with several other independent companies was raised a few years after the late rebellion, to preserve the peace of the highlands. His Majesty was not unacquainted with the character of Lord *Lovat*, he was doubtless sensible of the motives and views that prevailed with him to act in the manner he had done in suppressing the late rebellion, and that his appearing for the government might probably be contrary to his principles and secret inclinations: But the King heaped favours upon him the more effectually to gain and secure him by interest, which was known to be his Lordship's strongest tie, to cooperate in the service of the government.

Had a late ministry thought proper so far to comply with this dangerous man, as even to continue him in the enjoyment of those gratifications which the late King thought fit to bestow on him, the rebellion

bellion would never in all probability have been carried to such a height: With his own clan he could have crushed it in its infancy; nay if his discontent and disaffection to the government had not been notorious in the highlands, few of the clans would have dared to engage in so wild and desperate an undertaking: But the highlands being disarmed, and in a perfect state of tranquillity and subjection, the ministry forgetting Lord *Loval*'s former services, and thinking him no longer of any consequence to the government, was pleased in the year 1738, without any real or known cause, but his having some time before voted at an election contrary to their directions, though both the candidates were in the court interest, to strip him of his pension, and to deprive him of his command, and every other mark of the favour of the government. And what was still more extraordinary and equally weak and absurd, after disgusting a person of so great power among the clans; the highland independent companies, which were raised for no other purpose but to preserve the tranquillity of the highlands, having been represented by a certain great officer to

be no longer of any use in those parts, were regimented in the year 1739, and in the year 1742 sent into *Flanders*. There were no more than six companies of foot left in different garisons in all the highlands, viz. at Fort *George*, Fort *Augustus*, Fort *William*, and *Ruthven*. So that the whole country was exposed to the intrigues of the restless, turbulent, and revengeful genius of Lord *Lovat*, and his insinuations and influence were actually the first foundation of our present troubles.

It is well known, his Lordship, upon the court's withdrawing their favours from him, discovered very early his disgust and dissatisfaction, and his constant conversation and speeches proclaimed that his discontent was grown to disaffection, and ripe for rebellion. Whoever considers his influence amongst the clans, will not think it strange that he should have greatly contributed to dispose them to take that part which many of them have daringly avowed: The countenance he has given to our enemies, and his secret practices with them, will come to light hereafter: But as something more than private negotiations became necessary, he resolved to assist the Pretender's

son

son with his forces ; the unhappy master of *Lovat* was to fall a sacrifice, and be the instrument of carrying on this design, in order to screen himself from a charge of high treason, and to avoid the consequences of an attainder. Soon after the battle of *Preston*, 500 of the *Frasers* were assembled and armed, and sent to join the rebels at *Perth* ; but in order to give some colour to their treasonable designs, a low subterfuge was made use of : A number of his Lordship's cattle were given out to be stolen, and upon a pretended information, that the thieves were driving them southwards, the master of *Lovat* was detached with those *Frasers* to retake the stolen cattle ; but following too far with his men, fell into the hands of the rebels, and, as it is pretended, were forced into the rebellion. Before his son took the field, it is reported and believed, that his Lordship proposed to a great man at court, and engaged for a sum of 25000 *l.* to be distributed among the Chiefs of the clans, not only to keep all that part of the country quiet, but to assist the King's forces. This was a strange proposal, after he had artfully worked up

his clan to a spirit of rebellion; but he meant by cherishing that disposition to make himself the more considerable, and raise his merit and price with the government. The proposal was rejected with contempt, and he found himself under a necessity, as his designs came to be suspected, of engaging in support of the Pretender, whose cause he had notoriously betrayed in the year 1702, and vigorously and successfully opposed in the year 1715, and to whom he knew he was therefore become odious and detested.

The Lord President, who has been indefatigable in the service of the government ever since the breaking out of our present troubles, being well assured, that his Lordship was very active in fomenting the rebellion, wrote him a letter penned with great spirit and a becoming zeal, inveighing against his secret practices, intreating him to desist from an enterprize that would ruin him and his family, and advising him to call back his son and clan from the rebels; to this his Lordship returned an answer, by which, however artful and evasive, it plainly appeared what his real inclinations, and

and designs were; but as the letter and answer will give some light into Lord Lovat's mysterious conduct and character, so they will afford the reader a contrast that may not be displeasing: *Contraria juxta posita magis elucescunt*: He will there behold sound reasoning, good sense, candour, and generosity, opposed to mean shifts, wretched conceits, and lying pretences.

Lord President's letter to Lord Lovat, dated at Inverness, the 28th October, 1745.

My Lord,

“ **A**S I have now the honour of be-
 “ ing charged with the publick af-
 “ fairs in this part of the king-
 “ dom, I can no longer remain a specta-
 “ tor of your Lordship's conduct, and see
 “ the double game you have played for
 “ some time past, without betraying the
 “ trust reposed in me, and at once risque-
 “ ing my reputation, and the fidelity that I
 “ owe to his Majesty as a good subject.
 “ Your Lordship's actions now discover
 “ evidently your inclinations, and leave us
 “ no further in the dark about what side
 “ you

“ you are to choose in the present un-
 “ happy insurrection : You have now so
 “ far pulled off the mask, that we can
 “ see the mark you aim at, tho’, on for-
 “ mer occasions, you have had the skill
 “ and address to disguise your intentions
 “ in matters of far less importance. And
 “ indeed methinks a little more of your
 “ Lordship’s wonted artifice would not
 “ have been amiss, whatever had been
 “ your private sentiments with respect to
 “ this unnatural rebellion. You should,
 “ my Lord, have duly considered and
 “ estimated the advantages that would a-
 “ rise to your Lordship from its success,
 “ and balanced them with the risques you
 “ run if it should happen to miscarry ;
 “ and above all things you ought to have
 “ considered your own safety, and allowed
 “ that the chief place in your system of
 “ politicks ; which, I persuade myself,
 “ would have induced your Lordship to
 “ have played the game after a quite dif-
 “ ferent manner, and with a much greater
 “ degree of caution and policy. But so
 “ far has your Lordship been from acting
 “ with your ordinary *finesse* and circum-
 “ spection

“specification on this occasion, that you sent
 “away your son and the best part of your
 “*clan* to join the Pretender, with as little
 “concern as if no danger had attended
 “such a step: I say, sent them away; for
 “we are not to imagine they went of
 “themselves, or would have ventured to
 “take arms without your Lordship’s con-
 “currence and approbation: This, how-
 “ever, you are pretty sure cannot be easily
 “proved, which I believe indeed may be
 “true. But I cannot think it will be a
 “difficult matter to make it appear, that
 “the whole strain of your Lordship’s con-
 “versation in every company where you
 “have appeared, since the Pretender’s ar-
 “rival, has tended to pervert the minds
 “of his Majesty’s subjects, and seduce
 “them from their allegiance: And give
 “me leave to tell you, my Lord, even this
 “falls under the *construction of treason*,
 “and is no less liable to punishment than
 “open rebellion; as I am afraid your
 “Lordship will find when once this insur-
 “rection is crushed, and the government
 “at leisure to examine into the affair.
 “And I am sorry to tell you, my Lord,
 “that I could sooner undertake to plead

“ the cause of any of those unhappy gen-
 “ tlemen, who are just now actually in
 “ arms against his Majesty, and I could
 “ say more in defence of their conduct,
 “ than I can in defence of your Lordship’s.
 “ The Duke of *Perth* and Lord *Ogilvy*
 “ never qualified, nor did they ever receive
 “ the smallest favour from the present
 “ government; but, on the contrary, were
 “ both stripped of their titles and honours,
 “ and from men of the first quality, re-
 “ duced to the state of private gentlemen,
 “ since the revolution, and may both be
 “ supposed to act from a principle of re-
 “ sentment, and only take up arms to re-
 “ cover what they thought themselves un-
 “ justly deprived of. Lord *George Mur-*
 “ *ray* never had any place or pension from
 “ the publick, and was no doubt, drawn
 “ in by the influence of the Marquis of
 “ *Tullibardin*, perhaps, touched with pity
 “ and commiseration for his eldest brother,
 “ who has spent the best part of his life in
 “ exile, and undoubtedly upon an allow-
 “ ance much inferior to his dignity.
 “ These and such like apologies, may be
 “ offered in defence of most of the lead-
 “ ing men in the present rebellion; but
 “ what

" what shall I say in favour of you, my
 " Lord? You, who have flourished under
 " the present happy establishment, you,
 " who, in the beginning of your days, for-
 " feited both your life and fortune, and
 " yet, by the benignity of the government,
 " was not only indulged in the liberty of liv-
 " ing at home, but even restored to all you
 " could lay claim to: Nay, his Majesty's
 " goodness went so far as to employ your
 " Lordship in his service, and was pleased
 " to honour you with the command of one
 " of the independent companies that were
 " raised some years ago in the highlands,
 " which you enjoyed for a very long time:
 " So that both duty and gratitude ought to
 " have influenced your Lordship's conduct,
 " at this critical juncture, and disposed you
 " to have acted a part quite different from
 " what you have done. But there are
 " some men whom no duty can bind, nor
 " no favour can oblige; and, I am afraid,
 " if a timely repentance do not prevent it,
 " your Lordship will, not unjustly, be
 " ranked among that number. You now
 " see, my Lord, how unanimous the peo-
 " ple of *England* are against the Pretender,
 " and

"and what forces they are mustering up
 "to oppose him. The King has ordered
 "home his troops; several noblemen have
 "raised regiments at their own expences;
 "and every county and corporation through-
 "out the kingdom are entering into associ-
 "ations in defence of the present establish-
 "ment: So that these few unhappy gentle-
 "men, who are engaged in this rebellion,
 "will have armies after armies to encounter,
 "and if your Lordship entertains any hopes of
 "their success, you will find your mistake,
 "when it is too late to amend it. What
 "I would therefore propose to your Lord-
 "ship, as the only expedient left to rescue
 "you from the hazard of a rigorous pro-
 "secution, is, to recall your son and his
 "men immediately. This step, I am per-
 "suaded, would produce several good con-
 "sequences; for, on the one hand, it would
 "prevent numbers from joining the rebels,
 "who now hang in suspense; and, on the
 "other, occasion a great many of those
 "already engaged to desert and retire to
 "their respective habitations, and, perhaps,
 "may be the means of crushing the rebel-
 "lion without further bloodshed; which
 "would

“ would do your Lordship a great deal of
 “ honour, and such a remarkable piece of
 “ service would be amply rewarded by the
 “ government. If you shall judge it pro-
 “ per, my Lord, to follow this advice, it will
 “ give me a great deal of pleasure, as it will
 “ contribute to stop the progress of an un-
 “ happy civil war, that threatens us with
 “ endless calamities; but if your Lordship
 “ continues obstinate, and will not order
 “ your men to disband and return home,
 “ I shall be obliged to take you into custo-
 “ dy be the event what it will: And then
 “ your Lordship will run the risque of hav-
 “ ing your family extirpate as well as others
 “ of the highland Chiefs. Now, my Lord,
 “ I have told your Lordship my sentiments
 “ pretty freely, and no less out of friendship
 “ to your Lordship than duty to the pub-
 “ lic. I might have advanced many other
 “ arguments, to induce your Lordship to
 “ follow my advice, but, methinks, what,
 “ I have already said, is sufficient; and so,
 “ I shall only further add, that I am,

Yours, &c.

Lord

*Lord Lovat's letter in answer to the above,
dated at Beaufort, 29th October, 1745.*

My dear Lord,

“ I Received the honour of your Lord-
 “ ship's letter late last night, of yester-
 “ day's date; and I own I never re-
 “ ceived one like it since I was born; and
 “ I give your Lordship ten thousand thanks
 “ for the kind freedom you make with me
 “ in it: For I see by it, that for my mis-
 “ fortune, in having an obstinate stubborn
 “ son, and an ungrateful kindred, my fa-
 “ mily must go to destruction, and I must
 “ lose my life in my old age. Such usage
 “ looks rather like a *Turkish* or *Persian* go-
 “ vernment, than like a *British*. Am I,
 “ my Lord, the first father that has had
 “ an undutiful and unnatural son? Or am
 “ I the first man that has made a good
 “ estate, and saw it destroyed in his own
 “ time, by the mad foolish actions of an
 “ unnatural son, who prefers his own ex-
 “ travagant fancies to the solid advice of an
 “ affectionate old father? I have seen in-
 “ stances of this in my own time, but ne-
 “ ver

“ ver heard till now, that the foolishness
 “ of a son would take away the life and
 “ liberty of a father that lived peaceably,
 “ and was an honest man, and well-inclined
 “ to the rest of mankind. But I find, the
 “ longer a man lives, the more wonders
 “ and extraordinary things he sees. Now,
 “ my dear Lord, I beg leave to tell you
 “ my mind freely in my turn. I thank
 “ God I was born with very little fear in
 “ the greatest difficulties and dangers by sea
 “ and land, and, by God’s assistance, I
 “ have often saved my life by the firm-
 “ ness and steadiness of my resolutions ;
 “ and though I have now but a little re-
 “ mains of a life that is clogged with in-
 “ firmities and pain, yet by God’s assistance
 “ I am resolved to preserve it as long as I
 “ can. And though my son should give
 “ way with the young people of his clan,
 “ yet I will have six hundred brave *Fra-*
 “ *sers* at home, many of them about my
 “ own age, that will lose the last drop of
 “ their blood to preserve my person ; and
 “ I do assure your Lordship, if I am at-
 “ tacked, that I will sell my life as dear as
 “ I can. For since I am as peaceable a sub-
 “ ject

" ject as any in the kingdom, and as ready
 " to pay the King's taxes, and to do every
 " thing that a faithful subject ought to do,
 " I know no law or reason that my person
 " should not be in safety. I did use, and
 " will use, the strongest arguments that
 " my reason can suggest to me by my cou-
 " sin *Gortulegge*, that he may repeat them
 " to my son; and if they should not pre-
 " vail, is it any ways just or equitable that
 " I should be punished for the faults of my
 " son? Now, my dear Lord, as to the un-
 " civil war that occasions my misfortunes,
 " and in which almost the whole kingdom
 " is involved, on one side or the other,
 " I humbly think, that men should be
 " moderate on both sides, since it is moral-
 " ly impossible to know the event; for
 " thousands, ten thousands, on both sides,
 " are positive that their own party will car-
 " ry. And suppose that this venturous
 " Prince should be utterly defeat, and that
 " the government should carry all in tri-
 " umph, no man can think that any King
 " upon the throne would destroy so many
 " ancient good families, for engaging in
 " a cause that was always their principle,
 " and

“ and what they thought their duty to sup-
 “ port. King *William* was as great a
 “ King, as to his knowledge of government
 “ and politicks, as sate for many hundred
 “ years upon the throne of *England*; and
 “ when his general, who was one of the
 “ best in *Europe*, was defeat, and forced
 “ to run to save his life, and all his army
 “ routed at *Killicranky* by a handful of
 “ Highlanders, not full two thousand in
 “ number, King *William* was so far from
 “ desiring to extirpate them, that he sent
 “ the Earl of *Breadalbine* with twenty-five
 “ thousand pounds sterling, and sought no
 “ other conditions from them, than that they
 “ should live peaceably at home. So, my
 “ Lord, we cannot imagine, that though
 “ the Highlanders should be defeated at this
 “ time, and most of them killed, and the
 “ government full masters of the kingdom,
 “ that any administration would be so cruel,
 “ as to endeavour to extirpate the whole
 “ remains of the Highlanders. Besides,
 “ it would be a dangerous enterprize,
 “ which we nor our children would see at
 “ an end.

“ I pray God we may never see such a
 “ scene in our country, as subjects killing
 “ and destroying their fellow-subjects. For
 “ my part, my Lord, I am resolved to live
 “ a peaceable subject in my own house,
 “ and do nothing against the King or go-
 “ vernment. And if I am attacked by the
 “ King’s guards, and his captain-general at
 “ their head, I will defend myself as long
 “ as I have breath in me : And if I am
 “ killed here, it is not far to my burial-
 “ place ; and I will have, after I am dead,
 “ what I always wished, the coronach
 “ of all the women in my country, to con-
 “ vey my body to my grave ; and that
 “ was my ambition, when I was in my
 “ happiest situation in the world.”

I am, my Lord,
your Lordship’s, &c.

This attempt to reclaim his Lordship
 had not the desired effect, for he still per-
 sisted, and was every day more daring and
 open in his proceedings, which determined
 Lord *Loudon*, who was then at *Inverness*,
 to put a stop thereto : He marched with
 some hundreds of his men to *Castledouny*,
 and

and sent Lord *Lovat* a message, in the King's name, to attend him to *Inverness*, and deliver up what arms he had in his possession: Lord *Lovat* not finding himself in a condition to resist that force, submitted to go along with Lord *Loudon*, and remain at *Inverness* as a security for his peaceable behaviour, and accordingly staid there for some days, but delayed, upon sham pretences, to perform his promise as to delivering up the arms; and at last, notwithstanding he was strictly looked after, and centinels placed at his lodgings, he found means to break through the back part of the house in the night time, and made his escape. Since that time, he has been very instrumental in fomenting and carrying on the rebellion, by raising and arming the Highlanders, and alarming them with fears of being extirpated and destroyed by the King's troops with fire and sword, and persuading them that there was no other means left for their preservation, but by having recourse to arms to defend their lives, properties, and families, from the rapine and violence of their enemies: It is reported, that in order to inforce this matter, and

make a deeper impression upon their minds, he published a manifesto or declaration to the above effect, and made it be read publicly in the *Kirks* of a Sunday. His son was at the head of the *Frasers*, at the famous battle of *Culloden House*, where they behaved with their wonted courage and resolution. There are no certain accounts whether his Lordship was in the action or not, nor what is become of him since; but it is imagined that he has taken his flight into the mountains, and conceals himself in his old haunts and lurking places; there I shall leave him to reflect with shame and confusion on the guilty scenes of his past life, to lament the loss of his honours and estate, the destruction of his clan, and the probable ruin of his family.

The Pretender's son, after his defeat at *Culloden*, fled the same night to Lord *Levat*'s house, and finding his Lordship at home in his bed-chamber, he burst out in tears and said, "My good Lord, we are undone, my heart bleeds for poor Scotland;" and without adding more he fell down upon the bed and swooned away. Next day his Lordship and his guest retired to a moun-

mountainous and woody country called *Glenstrafarrar*, where his Lordship remained for some time upon the summit of the *Capillach*, being an extraordinary high mountain, from which there is a prospect of all the country round for many miles, great part of which belongs to his Lordship's estate ; here he, with 300 of his *Frasers* that escaped from the battle, observed the motions of the King's troops, and perceived a body of about 800 march to his seat of *Castledowny*, which he had the mortification to see demolished and burnt down to the ground : He thereupon addressed his sorrowful clan with these words, " Now, gentlemen, you see my predictions, that our enemies would destroy us with fire and sword, prove true, they have begun with me, and will not make an end before they have laid waste, ravaged and burnt our unhappy country : "

His *Frasers* upon that, fired with rage and indignation, vowed that they would rush down and attack the villains that had acted such a piece of cruelty and indignity against their Chief, and resolved that, in avenging the same, they would die gloriously,

asserting the cause of liberty and of their much injured Lord ; but he with tears and intreaties restrained their furious and desperate purpose, and conjured them to preserve their lives, and wait for a more favourable opportunity of retaliating their unspeakable affronts and wrongs, and the outrageous and lawless violence that was then done him by the burning and demolition of his house.

In the course of these memoirs, I took notice of a monument with an inscription erected by his Lordship, and as it may give some further light as to the true genius and temper of our hero, I shall beg leave to lay the same before the reader, and this I shall do without any comment upon it, the absurdity, vanity, and extravagance of it being too apparent to require any elucidation or explication ; the words of it are,

To the memory of

Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovat, who chose rather to undergo the greatest hardships of fortune, than to part with the ancient honours of his house, and bore these hardships with undaunted fortitude of mind.

This Monument was erected

By *Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat*, his son, who likewise having undergone many and great vicissitudes of good and bad fortune, through the malice of his enemies; he, in the end, at the head of his *Glan*, forced his way to his paternal inheritance, with his sword in his hand, and relieved his kindred and followers from oppression and slavery.

And both at home and in foreign countries, by his eminent actions, in the war and the state, he has acquired great honours and reputation.

Hic tegit ossa lapis, Simonis fortis in armis

Restituit pressum, nam genus ill suum.

Hoc marmor posuit, cari genitoris honori

In genus afflictum par erat ejus amor.

Lord Lovat, as to his person, makes an odd and grotesque figure, he is generally more loaded with cloaths than a *Dutchman* with his nine or ten pair of breeches; he is tall in stature and walks very upright, considering his great age, and is tollerably

tollerably well shaped; he has a large mouth and short nose, with eyes very much contracted and down looking, a very small forehead, almost all covered with a large periwig; this gives him a sour and grim aspect, but upon addressing himself to any one, he puts on a smiling and obliging countenance, which is not at all disagreeable; he is near sighted, and affects to be much more so than he really is: he was naturally of a robust and vigorous constitution, and a strong and active body, hardened by fatigue, inured to hunger and thirst, heat and cold, and improved by all manly exercises; but his long confinement in the *Bastille* had greatly impaired his constitution; he has however taken such care of himself, that he still preserves a degree of health and vigour very uncommon at so advanced an age. He is a man of some share of learning, and of great parts and abilities of mind. His universal experience and great attention to political matters has made him acquainted with men as well as books: he is polite, affable and agreeable in conversation, and so great a master in flattery and dissimulation, that he generally pleases and gains the

the good will, if not the esteem, of those he converses with, however prejudiced or prepossessed they might have been against him. His knowledge of the history and genealogy of all the great families in *Scotland* contributes not a little to this, for there is no person in that country, but he will make out to be a relation or ally of some noble or ancient family, or a descendant of some virtuous and illustrious hero. In this traditional history he pays little regard to truth, provided he can give his story the air of probability: he seems to entertain his guests with the utmost cheerfulness and hospitality, but being sordidly avaricious, he grumbles privately at the least expence; and though to their faces he caresses them, yet no sooner do they turn about their backs, than he pronounces curses and execrations against them for the trouble and charge they put him to. He is ambitious and proud, but when it serves his turn, cringing, mean and fawning. He is crafty and subtle, but at times open and unguarded in his speeches and actions, and that even in matters of great concern; by this means he has frequently involved himself in dangers and

difficulties ; but he is very fertile in expedients, and has almost always been hitherto successful in extricating himself out of such scrapes : His restless and active disposition conduces not a little to draw him into snares, but a ready invention and a bold and speedy execution helps him out of them : He is much addicted to enthusiasm and superstitious notions, by which he is greatly governed in many cases : In business he is unjust and unconscionable, and avows that his own profit or pleasure has always been the rule of his actions, and to that he has on all occasions sacrificed every other consideration ; this has led him to violence, rapes, cruelty, revenge, treachery, and every base and infamous practice when it suited his purpose ; this has made him put himself into all shapes and appearances, and therefore rendered him detested and despised by all good and virtuous men, dreaded by some, and scorned and derided by others. He is naturally brave and resolute, and though, as to invisible powers, he is fearful and timid, and as to his health and the lesser accidents of life, scrupulous to a degree of pusillanimity, yet in time of imminent danger he

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is bold and undaunted: He is of an amorous and falacious temper, but for many years past, he has been very cautious in respect of women of rank, being sensible that intrigues of that sort are often attended with disagreeable consequences; he therefore made his addressees to the lowest and meanest of the female sex, and by that means tasted all the sweets without any allay of the bitters of love; besides his absolute sway over them, saved him the trouble of a long and laborious courtship, which he had but little time for on account of the multiplicity of his affairs: In fine, he is a cruel and oppressive master, an imperious and outrageous husband, a tyrannical and severe parent, a false hearted and treacherous friend, and an arbitrary and despotick Chief.

To conclude, it may be looked upon as a strange phænomenon, not easily to be accounted for, that his Lordship being a person of great penetration and long experience in business, who had for many years struggled with powerful enemies, and with poverty and distress, and at last conquered them all, (which he boasted he had done without effusion of human blood in any

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one instance, and therefore assumed for his motto, *sine sanguine victor*;) and after he had established himself in the right and possession of that title and estate, which he had long contended for; he should now be drawn into a chimerical and desperate scheme, in concert with a nation that he knew to be treacherous and perfidious, which must end in his own destruction, and the ruin of his family: The motives of those concerned therein may be various, such as enthusiasm, madness, ignorance, poverty, and the like: others may look upon our calamities as proceeding from a certain fatality or providential direction of human affairs: however fantastical such a notion may seem to be, I find the famous Tully entertained such an opinion, when talking of the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar; his words are, “*Ac mihi*
“*quidem si proprium et verum nomen nos-*
“*tri mali queratur, fatalis quædam ca-*
“*lamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas*
“*hominum mentes occupavisse, ut nemo*
“*mirari debeat, humana consilia divina*
“*necessitate esse superata.*” But with regard to his Lordship, I think his present

sent conduct can hardly be accounted for any other way, than by supposing that it proceeded from a deliberate and malignant purpose to ruin and subvert our present government, meerly because they have not thought fit to gratify his ambitious and avaritious passions and desires.

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